

IN THESE TIMES

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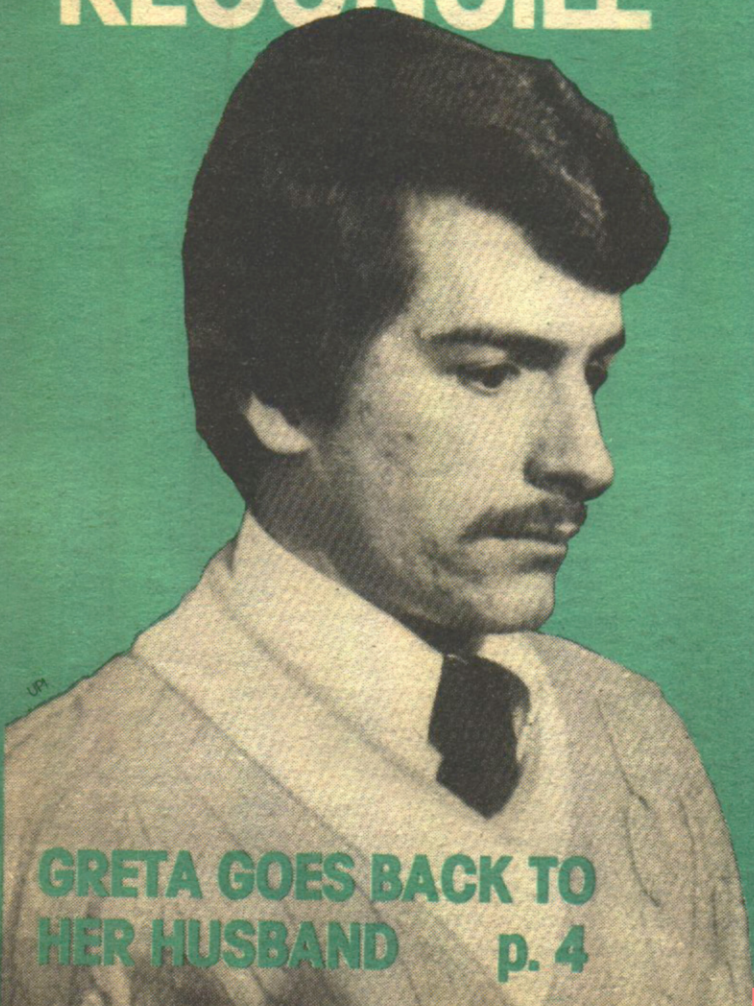
70 Cents

COMMUNISTS CONQUER COMMUNISTS

VIETNAM
OVERCOMES
CAMBODIA
p. 9

Vietnam News Agency

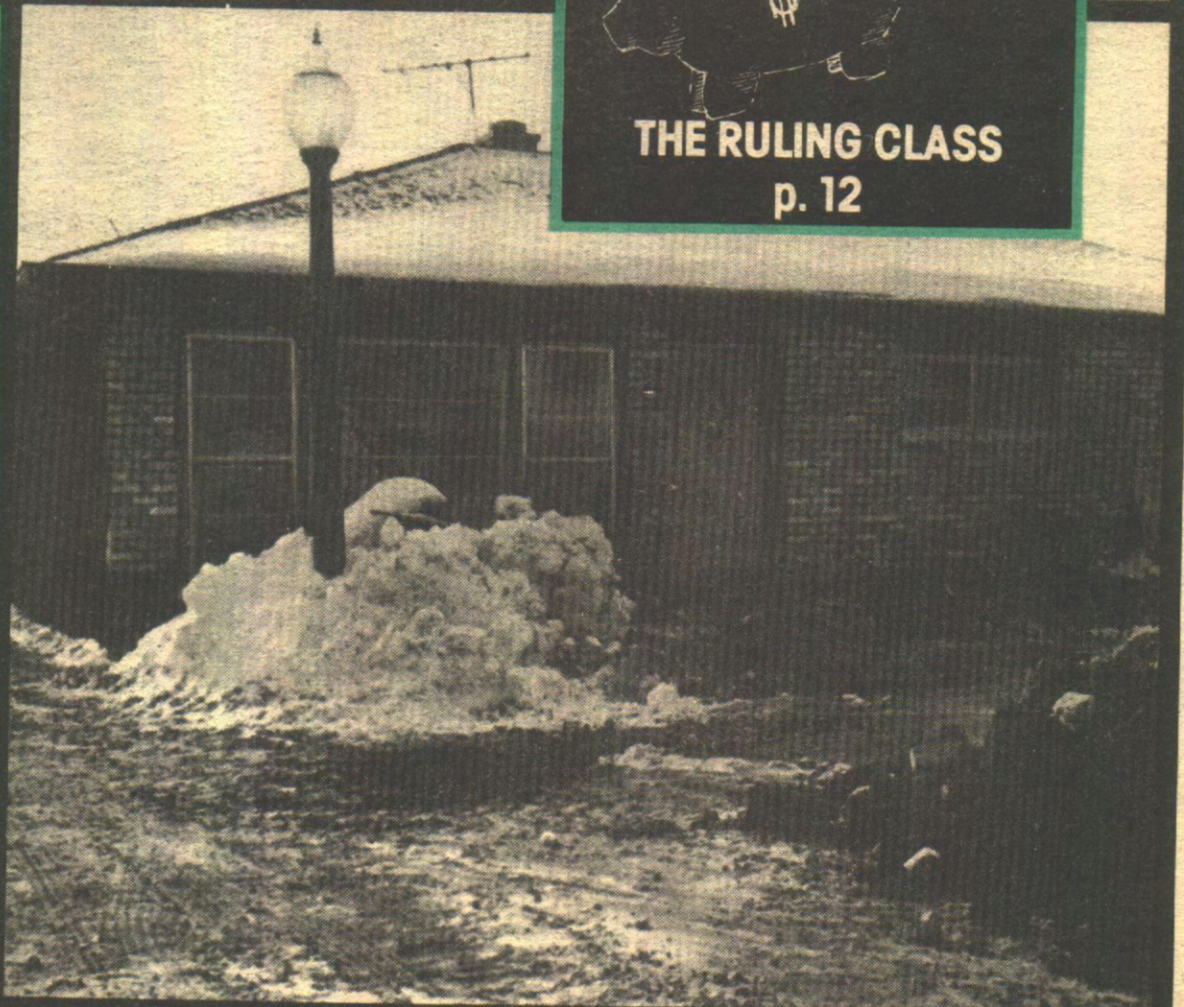
RAGING RIDEOUTS RECONCILE



GRETA GOES BACK TO
HER HUSBAND p. 4



THE RULING CLASS
p. 12



A. DiFranco

MULTIPLE MURDERS MULTIPLY

JOHN GACY
INDICTED ON
SEVEN COUNTS
OF MURDER

p. 3

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THE INSIDE STORY

JOHN JUDIS

The best and worst of 1978

Best News

Combined Award to the Movements Against the Shah of Iran and Against Nicaraguan Dictator Anastasio Somoza

Because they brook no dissent, dictatorships often appear stable, even when they are on the verge of being overthrown. Outside of a few angry exchange students wearing paper masks and shouting "Down with the Shah," who was going to topple the Shah of Iran, whose regime President Jimmy Carter recently described as an "island of stability?" Or after the defeat of the guerilla movements in Bolivia, Uruguay and Argentina, how could such a movement succeed against Somoza's American-equipped National Guard? But both countries now stand on the brink of ending their dictatorships in favor of more democratic, left-wing governments. And in both cases, the rebellion has had favorable side-effects—on rebels in El Salvador, on the opposition in Brazil, on the forces in the Mideast that favor a comprehensive settlement to the Arab-Israeli conflict.

Worst Good News

SALT II

After two years of discussion, the U.S. and the Soviet Union have come up with a strategic arms pact that is no better, and may even be worse, than the proposal Henry Kissinger and Leonid Brezhnev worked out in Vladivostok in 1976. According to ex-Kissinger aide Roger Morris, Carter once described that proposal as being "just ground rules for intensified competition and continued massive arms growth." The description fits SALT II as well. To make matters worse, Carter is promising the Pentagon and the Congressional Hawks new nuclear hardware and a rise in the defense budget in exchange for supporting the treaty, while opponents of the arms race are being asked to support it as the only thing standing between us and Armageddon.

Most Important Event

U.S. Recognition of China

The implications of American recognition of China ripple across the world's oceans. Western and Japanese businessmen see in the Chinese market a way out of the stagnation that has afflicted their industries since the late '60s. The Chinese see in controlled foreign investment the long-denied promise of rapid industrialization and of an increase in Chinese standards of living. The Soviet Union and its allies fear a new NATO-Japan-China alliance against them. The Vietnamese invasion of Cambodia, and the ouster of the pro-Chinese Pol Pot regime, was probably triggered—at least in part—by the U.S.-China move.

Most Important Non-Event

The Camp David Summit

The larger Arab-Israeli conflict, which goes back 30 years, has been studded with wars, declarations, summits, treaties, alliances, and betrayals. But September's Camp David meeting was supposed to have been different. It was supposed to have brought an end to Israel's isolation and to have laid the foundation for a solid bloc of pro-American states in the Mideast: a *pax Americana* in this important and explosive part of the world. It was also supposed to have ensured Jimmy Carter a place in the presidential hall of fame. But with the revolt against the Shah having tipped the delicate balance of power in the Mideast, it now appears as merely another episode in a long history. Saudi Arabia, which had silently backed the accord, has now lent its weight to the anti-Sadat states. Sadat himself has again become a champion of Palestinian self-determination, which is, of course, the traditional means to deadlock any Arab-Israeli talks. And it now looks like the more deliberate Kissinger strategy, which was designed to keep Syria inside the negotiations, was more farsighted than Carter's dramatic gesture.

This edition (Vol. 3, No. 8) published Jan. 17, 1978, for newsstand distribution Jan. 17-23.

Most Important Non-Event (Special Second-Place Award)

The Passage of the Humphrey-Hawkins Full-Employment Act of 1978

By the time it was passed by Congress last October, the Humphrey-Hawkins bill was being dubbed the Humphrey-Hawkins-Hatch bill, after Utah's right-wing Senator, Orrin G. Hatch. Once the harbinger of socialist hopes, the bill had been stripped of any provisions that would force government to meet the full-employment goal; the goal had been lowered from 3 to 4 percent unemployment; and an inflation target of 3 percent for 1983 and zero percent for 1988 had been tacked onto it.

Vilified Cause

Socialism (Past Winners: The Unification Church, Richard Nixon, White Power)

With the rise of Eurocommunism, socialism seemed to be making a public relations comeback in the West, and even in the U.S., but 1978 didn't help. First, there were the French elections, in which a disunited left went down in defeat. Then the Aldo Moro kidnapping and murder engineered by some young Italian terrorists in the name of socialist revolution; then the revelations about the murder of dissidents in communist Cambodia; and, then, to top it all off, Jim Jones' Orwellian utopia in Guyana. It could have been the worst year for socialism's good name since the Hitler-Stalin pact of 1939, except that, then, more Americans seemed to care one way or another.

(If the reports of the Laotian Communists using poison gas to kill thousands of rebellious tribesmen are true, 1979 has started off even worse.)

Spurious Achievement

Jimmy Carter's Legislative Victories

In 1977, Jimmy Carter couldn't get any of his domestic programs through Congress, and 1978 started out the same way—with defeats on the consumer protection agency bill and labor law reform. But in the summer, with the help of media expert Gerald Rafshoon, Carter began to "turn things around." He adopted a new strategy: if Congress wouldn't pass *his* bills, he would accept what *they* wanted as "his." "They" happened to be not simply Congress, but the army of business lobbyists who had blocked passage of tax reform and natural gas regulation. So Carter gave in on tax reform and en-

ergy. When "his" bills passed in October, they were among the most pro-business since the '20s. And in 1979, Carter is following the same strategy, with budget cuts in social services and an increase in the defense budget.

Cultural Phenomenon (Popular)

Steve Martin

Like most entertainers, Steve Martin has arrived on center-stage—with his own TV special—just as his best material has run dry. His latest record features the same old stuff ("Ex-coose me!" and "wild and crazy guys"). It was bound to happen. Martin's humor is remarkably tame and introverted: it revolves largely around himself-as-comedian. It contains no passion or outrage. It's good for TV, and it's good for a period that lacks any shared passions.

Cultural Phenomenon (Offbeat)

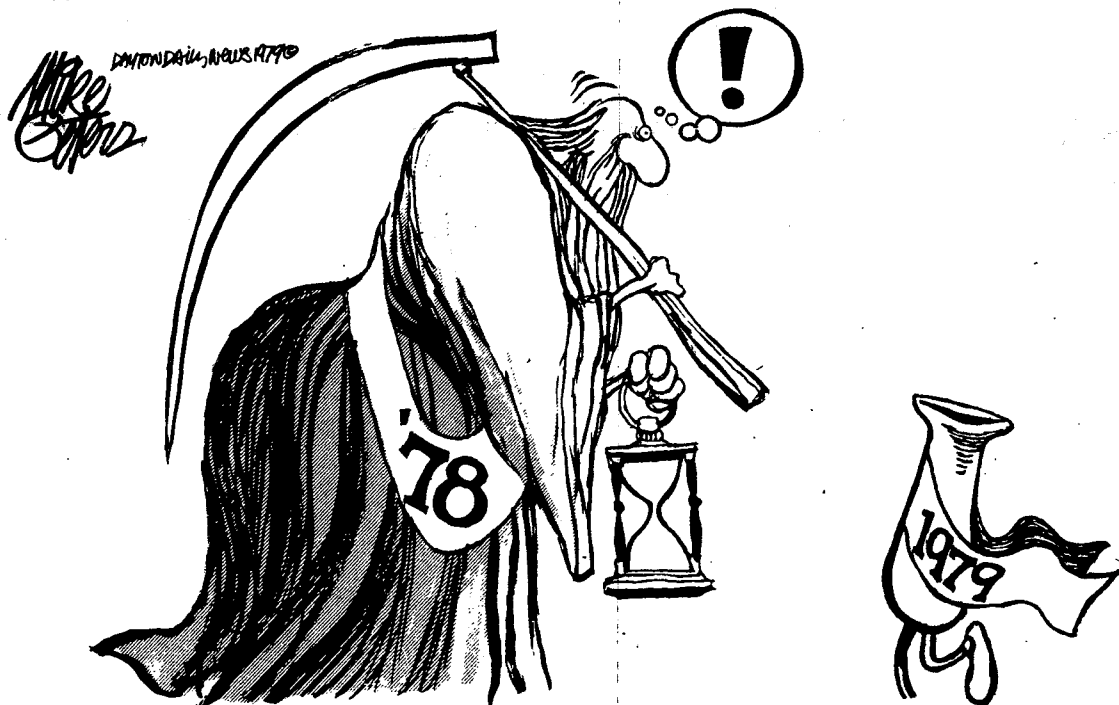
Devo

Devo plays hard-driving rock blended with electronic burps, bellows, and tweets. They come on stage in yellow chemical-industry jumpsuits that they shed for shorts and t-shirts. They look, and act, like rebellious teenagers from smalltown America. (They come from Akron.) Their name "Devo" is short for "devolution," and when they are not singing about masturbation or cannibalism, they are singing about and parodying humankind's sorry state. They are still balanced between the representation of a real mood and simple theatricality. Given the present isolation of the entertainment business from any movement or organized discontent, it is likely they will soon tip over into pure show business.

Pet Peeve

Being a Left-wing Journalist

Why is it usually much easier to arrange interviews with right-wing fanatics and corporate lobbyists than with labor officials and left-wing activists? When I go to Washington, I have no trouble seeing the head of the American Council for Capital Formation, but I often cannot even get a labor official on the phone, let alone see him or her in person. When I've followed "new right" candidates, I've often been overcome with their friendliness—visits to their home, lunch and dinner invitations; at the UAW's October meeting of the left, one Ohio left-wing activist simply refused to talk to me when he found out where I was from. There's a disturbing pattern here which has nothing to do with the right's greater time or wealth.



IN THESE TIMES

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IN THE NATION

Chicago Tribune

PSYCHOPATHY

Murder most foul? Youths' mass grave stirs primal fears

By David Moberg

FACELESS AND FLEETING, LURKING in the shadows by day and concealed by the somber night, an ominous presence stalks the placid and proper streets of Haddonfield, Ill. We know he is an extraordinary murderer, powerful, hateful and unpredictable. Many years earlier he killed his older, teenage sister on Halloween after she and her boyfriend had been playing around sexually. Now he has come back to Haddonfield. When will he strike again? Who will be his victim? Which movement in the darkness is just the night breeze brushing the trees? Which one is an omen of sudden, innocent death?

Director John Carpenter, in his current, popular suspense film, *Halloween*, chillingly milks this horror story, surpassing the usual quality of the genre with his talented technique and timing. Yet even at their schlockiest, such films draw large audiences, partly because they "take fears that are prevalent in people—fears because of the society we live in and primitive fears, such as the child's fear of the bogeyman—and institutionalize them in a literary form," according to University of Illinois psychology professor Paul Singer. "It makes it safer for you to be a person. It scares the hell out of you, but it's safely contained on the screen. It's being dealt with in a way that's distant from you."

The fears of a safe, stable, respectable neighborhood being disrupted by totally unpredictable violence—tinged with sex—jumped off the movie screens and into the front pages of the newspapers in Chicago just before Christmas. John Wayne Gacy, 36, a successful contractor who was well-liked by his neighbors on the suburban northwest side of the metropolitan area, was arrested on Dec. 21 and charged with murder of a 15-year-old boy. He reportedly told police that he had killed 32 young men since early 1972 after having sexual relations with them. He had strangled most of them, according to reports of the confession, and buried them in trenches dug out of the crawl space beneath his brick bungalow.

30 bodies discovered.

Over the following weeks, police investigators digging on Gacy's property found 26 nearly totally decomposed corpses beneath his house and one under a concrete floor of his garage. Three other bodies linked to Gacy by police have been recovered from Chicago area rivers.

Gacy had always appeared to be the ideal neighbor. He was helpful in times of need. He was politically active in the local Democratic organization. He threw large, elaborate theme parties in his backyard—such as a Bicentennial bash, when Gacy dressed up in the clothes of an 18th century aristocrat. He also dressed up as a clown to entertain groups of children. His contracting work kept him busy, and he hired a changing string of young men to help him with the remodeling that was his specialty.

But there was another side of Gacy's life that his neighbors didn't know. His second wife, whom he divorced in 1976 after four years of marriage, reported that he was often exhausted and moody, especially after he began staying out very late at night. "Their sex life also apparently

"Homosexuality does not explain it," says a psychologist.

"People who kill are different—some tie up sex and violence. It could have been a heterosexual event."

grew less satisfying. Her mother, who lived for a while with the couple, said that Gacy would at times become violently angry, breaking furniture, and then appear calm shortly thereafter. Both women also complained about a strange odor in the house. But Gacy explained this away as simply a problem with the sewer.

Although Gacy was often up late at night making construction noises that bothered neighbors, most of his late-night activities apparently took him to a variety of bars frequented by younger men, some of them primarily catering to homosexuals. Several young men have now reported being picked up by Gacy, often with the promise of drugs, and then being attacked by him. Gacy reportedly tried to knock out these victims with chloroform or other substances or tried to handcuff or tie them up before sexually assaulting them.

A number of the young men whose bodies have been identified in the graveyard beneath Gacy's house had come to work for him. The disappearance of one job-seeking boy, Robert Piast, and the persistence of a suburban policeman, finally brought the arrest of Gacy and his confessions.

Chicago and suburban police have been criticized for not making the connections between Gacy and several missing young men earlier, especially since other complaints had been filed against him as well. But Gacy's respectable position in the



John Gacy (left), dressed for one of his backyard costume parties, was respected in his suburb until police found 27 bodies under his house.

community and police predispositions to shrug off many missing late adolescents as irretrievable runaways probably protected Gacy.

Police ignored complaints.

Police also distrusted complaints from young men that Gacy had sexually assaulted them. In one case, Gacy admitted the sexual activity but claimed the youth reported him to police only because Gacy refused to pay blackmail. The police took Gacy's word since, in the words of one official, "that sort of thing happens."

Gacy, the prosperous small businessman who yearned to be loved by the neighbors, had already suffered devastation of his reputation by sex crime charges. In 1968 he was a successful manager of a fast food franchise in Waterloo, Iowa, and a rising star in the local Jaycees. Then he was arrested and convicted on sodomy charges and sentenced to ten years in prison. A quiet, model prisoner, he was paroled after 18 months and he returned to his home town, Chicago, successfully leaving behind the prison blemish.

According to reports of confessions

Gacy has made to police, he killed all of his victims in his suburban home starting in January 1972. A portly man with a short brush mustache and neatly trimmed hair, Gacy apparently kept small trinkets—a piece of clothing or slip of paper—from many of the victims.

Some of the skeletons were found wrapped in tarpaper, the bodies decomposed from the action of lime. Clothing, such as men's bikini underpants, was stuffed in some of their mouths. The latest victims, it seems, were dumped in rivers, suggesting progressively less care in disposing of the bodies after the crawl space cemetery was filled.

"They had it coming to them."

Describing himself as a bisexual, according to a report of the police interrogation published in the *Chicago Sun-Times*, Gacy said that he feared retaliation or extortion by the men after having sex with them, and he claimed that all of them were willing partners or even propositioned him. He reportedly told police that the victims "had it coming" to them.

Continued on page 18.

Despite public prejudices, homosexuality is not issue

"It is absolutely right not to make much of this as a homosexual event," Alan P. Bell, senior research psychologist at the Institute for Sex Research and co-author of the recently published *Homosexualities*, says about the case of John Gacy. "It's very important that people understand that a situation like this is hardly typical of homosexuals' involvements."

Nevertheless, many people will make the connection, even though gay rights activists in Chicago are generally satisfied that the mass media were more responsible in their coverage than newspapers in Houston were in 1973 when the multiple sex-torture-murders of Dean Corll were revealed. Representatives of the Gay Rights Task Force promptly asked the daily papers to stop using "acknowledged homosexual" as a stock description for Gacy and, after a while, both came around.

"We said that it was not crucial to the story," Task Force co-chair Bill Kelley says, "that it was no more relevant than his being a contractor. His homosexuality doesn't explain the crime, and it might be considered as an attempt to explain it. Sex was really incidental or coincidental. It could have been a heterosexual-related event in somebody else's hands. Rather than ignore the homosexual angle, they should go deeper into what makes people commit such crimes." Kelley was concerned that people may not acknowledge that many of Gacy's victims were homosexuals. The gay community sees even more clearly now the need for safe social situations where young homosexuals who cannot take part in the bar scene can meet.

Psychiatrists and psychologists agreed with Kelley's principal point: if Gacy did what he is accused of, then he is probably more like other violent, homicidal

people or more like other men who are sexually preoccupied with much younger partners than he is like most homosexuals.

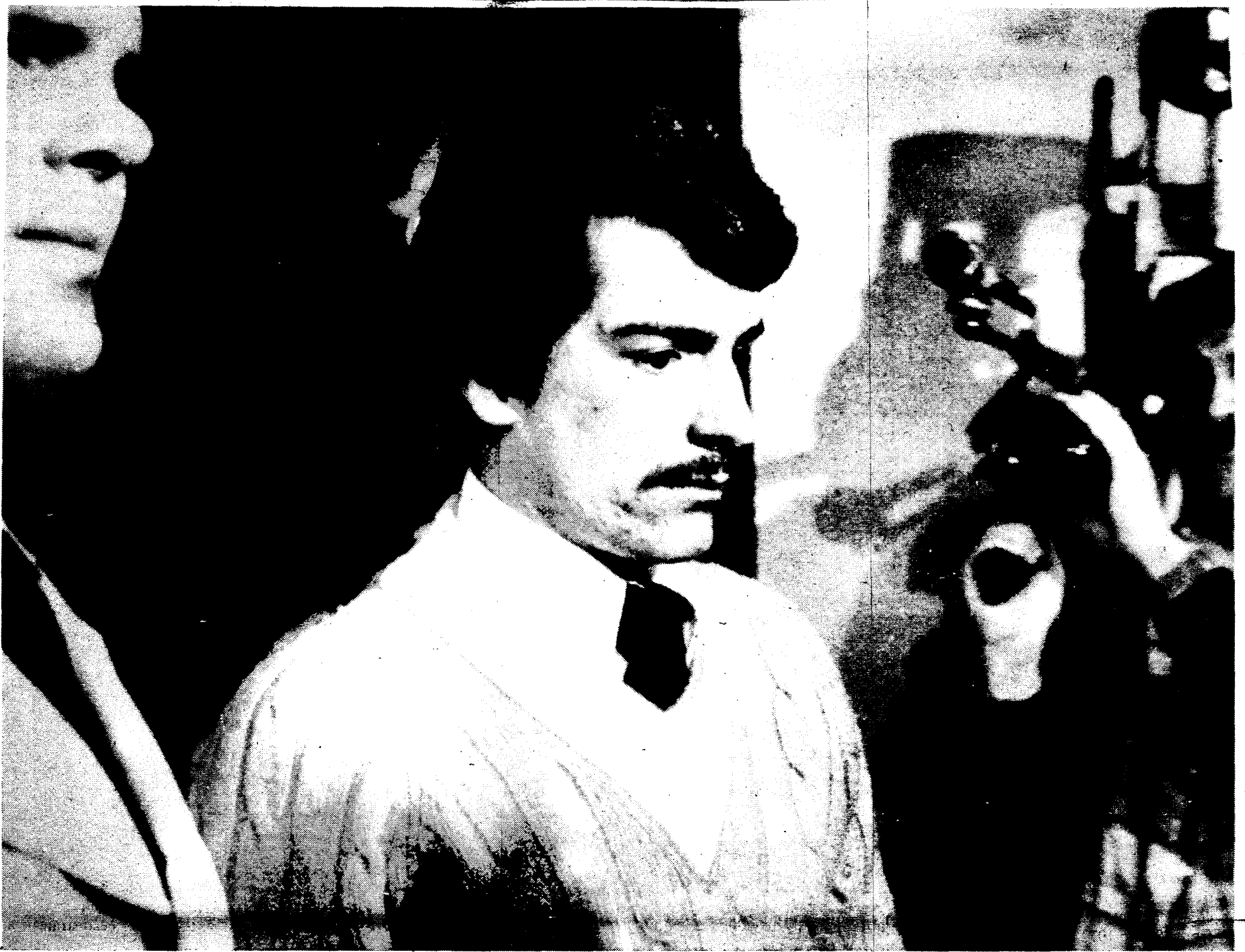
"It's my understanding that the so-called 'chicken-hawks' or child molesters are developed mentally, psychologically and sexually quite different from the typical heterosexual or homosexual," Bell says, "and perhaps, regardless of sexual orientation, those who are interested in much younger people are more like each other."

"Homosexuals are basically not killers and heterosexuals basically are not killers," murder expert Dr. Shervert Frazier, professor of psychiatry at Harvard, says. "But people who kill are different. They're violent, and some people who have sex are participating in violence as they see sex. They have a particular quirk in their experience that ties up sex and violence."

"One of the most striking things I saw," Bell said, "was the reluctance of parents with missing sons to come forward with information for fear they would appear to be homosexual. That says as much about our society as anything in this case."

—David Moberg

MARITAL TRIALS



John Rideout

UPI

Greta and John ride out legal battle

By Michelle Celarier

SALEM, ORE.

HAS JOHN RIDEOUT BEEN saved, by either the hand of the Lord or a little nudge from the law? Apparently his wife, Greta, thinks so. Greta went back to her husband Jan. 7, not quite two weeks after he had been acquitted on charges of raping her in the first case of its kind in the U.S. In the aftermath of the trial, which gained national attention, Greta announced herself a feminist and said she would donate money from planned speaking engagements to women's rights endeavors such as the Salem Women's Crisis Center, which gave her emotional refuge after the alleged October rape and during the December trial.

But the speaking engagements are cancelled for the moment. The first one was scheduled for Jan. 8, the day after Greta and her estranged spouse reunited, shortly before their divorce was to go to court. According to friends at the Crisis Center, Greta arranged to see John because she was concerned that he would attempt to gain custody of their two-and-a-half-year-old daughter.

At that time, Greta said she realized that John was a "changed man," later commenting to friends on a gentle side of his character that she had never seen before. John attributed it all to his rediscovery of God and his new-found understanding that it wasn't right for a man to abuse his wife.

John Rideout had never denied beating his wife. He even apologized for such actions in court. Although he denies raping her on the day in question, he says he supports the Oregon law under which he

was prosecuted and the efforts of such groups as the Crisis Center. Maybe in the future, the two of them will do some interviews, John told reporters who called him up at Sambo's in Salem (causing him to lose his job). But for the moment, he says, he and Greta have a lot of work to do with each other.

Born-again love.

Despite a common incredulosity at the turn of events, the women at the Crisis

center since the courtroom. John's brother, Jack, whom Greta had also accused of raping her, was angered when he learned of their meeting and soon visited them, kicking in their door.

Given a 24-hour eviction notice, the Rideouts left and ended up in a Portland hotel room, where John convinced Greta of his born-again love.

"God was the matchmaker," he told one reporter. Rumor at the Crisis Center was that a Christian man from Pennsyl-

later saying, "I love you."

Petition against law.

While the now homeless Rideouts slipped in and out of seclusion last week, and avoided not only the press but the angered brother, Jack (who is reportedly "after Greta now that his wife has left him"), the effect their escapades would have on the future of the concept of marital rape was as elusive as the lovebirds.

Their actions certainly seemed to play into the defense's argument that such matters belong in the bedroom, not the courts. A petition is being circulated in Oregon seeking to abolish the new law, which is in effect in only four states. If all problems can be settled by kissing and making up, the idea of giving a man a maximum of 20 years for such sexual abuse may be as difficult for the next jury as it was for the Rideout one.

It has been argued that this was not a good test case for such an important law. However, the Salem Women's Crisis Center argued that crimes, after all, are not chosen.

Anyway, said Bibelheimer, "we don't see why this should make any difference." She thinks John's change of heart came partially from his fear of going to jail and from counselling he has undergone since the alleged rape.

Because of the estimated \$9,000 bill in taxes that the litigation cost, "it's kind of hard for the public to swallow," admitted Monthey, echoing a skepticism shared by many.

At the Women's Crisis Center, there was voiced an even more anxious, tentative concern. They've just found out where the second marital rape case in the country will be coming to trial—right here in Salem, Ore. ■

While a second marital rape case comes up in Salem, Ore., a petition is being circulated to abolish the new law.

Center say they are pleased. "We know it's not unusual for women to return to abusive husbands," said Wanda Monthey. "As for John and Greta, we just hope for the best for both of them."

Helen Bibelheimer, the Crisis Center volunteer with whom Greta had been staying since the alleged rape, expressed her faith in the "new" John. "I've talked to him and I'm very impressed. I have no doubt that he feels what he is saying. I'm also impressed that I believe it," she said.

"He now feels women are equal," said Bibelheimer, who thinks that "every bit of testimony made him well aware of what he'd done. He saw the kind of fear a woman goes through."

Bibelheimer said the pair met on Jan. 7 at the apartment that Greta had recently returned to live in. It was their first en-

vania had been in communication with both of the Rideouts, trying to patch things up.

But why would Greta Rideout go back to a man who'd beaten and raped her—for whom she claimed to have no love left—unless she was a masochist or a fool? In light of recent events, Wanda Monthey, the Crisis Center worker who answered Greta's original call for help, tried to account for the woman's former animosity and sudden change.

"Maybe it's just more psychologically damaging when you're raped by your husband—just because you have loved him. Maybe when she saw him change, maybe it was what she wanted all along." Greta had told Bibelheimer that she wanted a happy marriage, but she also claimed to be wary of men who "come back weeks

ARMS CONTROL

SALT II peppered by hawks and doves

By Patrick Lucefield

RIGHT AFTER HIS INAUGURATION, Jimmy Carter committed his administration to the lofty goal of "zero nuclear weapons" and to the immediate objective of a strategic arms limitations agreement with the Soviet Union. Now, however, with a SALT II treaty near completion, the Carter administration is discovering that negotiating with the Russians was child's play compared to the difficulties the agreement will face when presented to the Senate for ratification sometime in late January or early February.

SALT II, which administration spokesmen have termed the "centerpiece of Soviet-American relations" and the President's key foreign policy objective of 1979, is beset by right-wing critics, who charge "sellout" and American acquiescence to Soviet military superiority, and by left-wing reluctance or even opposition stemming from the administration's efforts to assuage conservative opposition with increased military spending, development of the MX mobile missile and the appointment of Gen. George Seignious to replace Paul Warnke as head of the nation's Arms Control and Disarmament Agency (ACDA).

Equal limits.

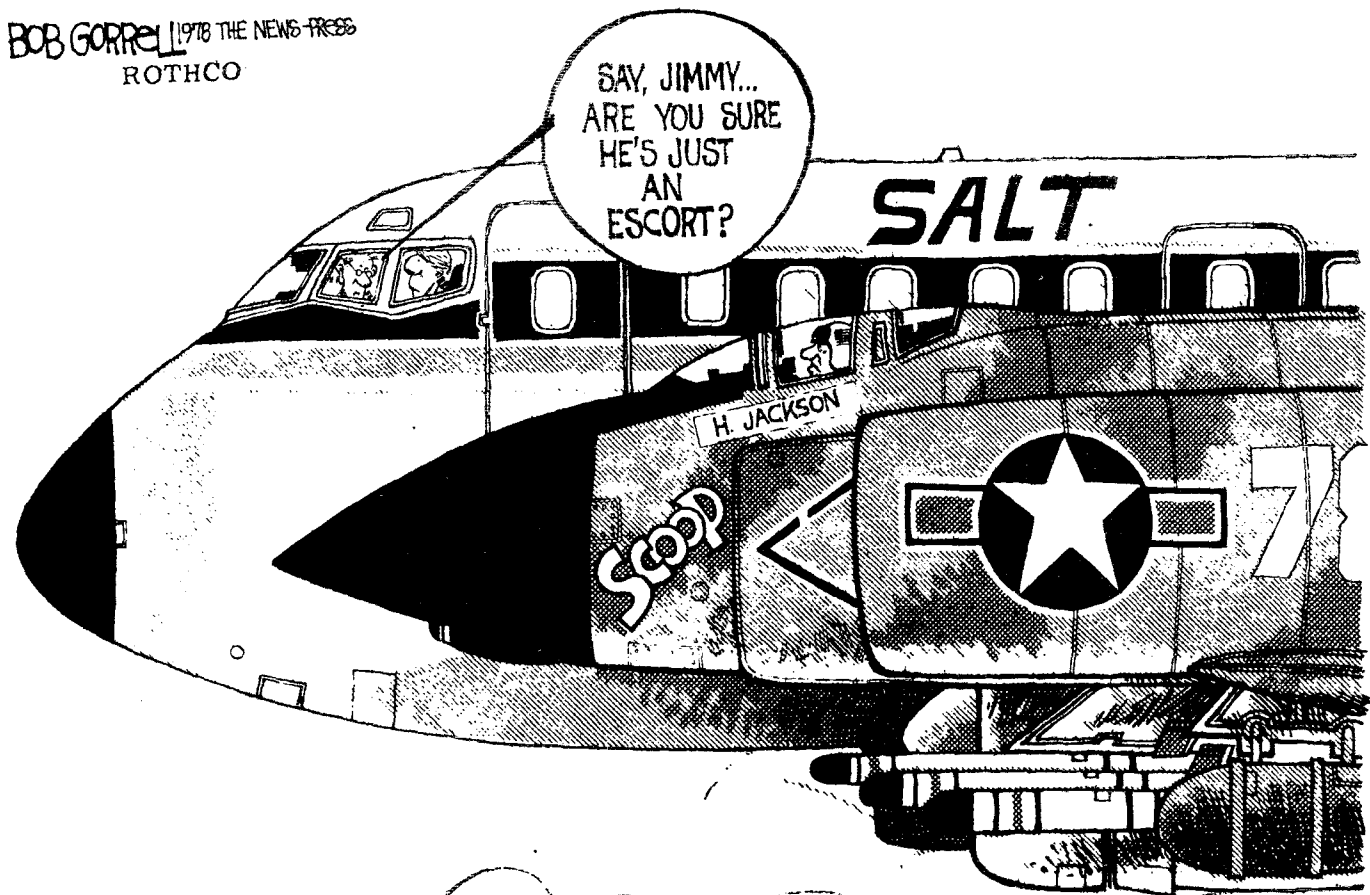
SALT II continues the Soviet-American negotiations that began in November 1969. The SALT I agreement, signed in May 1972, limited antiballistic missile deployment but had little effect on other areas of the arms race. Quantitatively, SALT I allowed the U.S. to increase its deliverable nuclear warheads from 5000 in 1972 to 9500 today and the Soviets to reach 4500 warheads from only 2500 six years before. Qualitatively, the agreement allowed the U.S. to exploit its technological edge by deploying MIRV, the multiple independently targetable reentry vehicle—which enables a single missile launcher to carry up to six missiles—and prompted the Soviet Union to initiate a MIRV program of its own.

Nothing in SALT I interfered with either American or Soviet strategic plans. In fact, the agreement brought American hawks and doves together as Vietnam was never able to do. Doves believed that trade-offs in weapons deployment now might reduce the "balance of terror," and hawks saw in SALT the vehicle for strategic improvements and increased military spending.

SALT II will consist of two parts. The first is the basic agreement running through 1985 on total missile launchers, on launchers with MIRV missiles, limitations on Cruise-missile carrying bombers, and on launchers of MIRVed ICBMs. The second part of the treaty is a protocol of three years duration banning the deployment (though not the research, development, and testing) of mobile missiles, and long-range ground and sea-launched cruise missiles. The treaty, a State Department spokesman told IN THESE TIMES, would place equal numerical limits on overall American and Soviet forces (as opposed to the numerical advantage given the Russians in SALT I to compensate for American MIRV superiority), force the Soviets to destroy up to 300 strategic systems while the U.S. would have to dismantle no systems currently operational, and hold down the deployment of Soviet strategic forces below what they could deploy in the absence of an agreement.

Liberal supporters.

"The rejection of SALT," said an aide to a leading Democratic senator outspoken in defense of SALT II, "would be more than just a rejection in favor of some hypothetical alternative that you or I might come up with. It would mean 15 years of progress and negotiations down the drain. You can't tell me SALT II isn't worth-

BOB GORRELL 1978 THE NEWS-PRESS
ROTHCO

while when it represents the first cutback in forces—perhaps 10 percent for the Soviets." Other administration spokesmen emphasize the dire consequences for Soviet-American relations should SALT be rejected and the concomitant escalation in the arms race by both sides should that occur.

Such prospects have moved several liberal organizations—albeit reluctantly in most cases—to close ranks with the administration in support of SALT, including the Coalition for a New Foreign and Military Policy, a national coalition of labor, religious, human rights and public interest groups, and the American Friends Service Committee, a Quaker organization that led the battle against the B-1 bomber and plays a key role in the Mobilization for Survival, the radical anti-nuclear coalition.

Americans for SALT, co-chaired by former Defense Secretary Clark Clifford, former Air Force Secretary Townsend Hoopes, and one-time UN ambassador

Charles Yost, has been formed to "mobilize the large majority of Americans who favor a new treaty." "You can prevent a minority of 34 senators," intones their brochure, "from rejecting a good treaty and abandoning nuclear arms control."

Despite a somewhat late start—at least when viewed against conservative organizations opposing SALT—an Americans for SALT spokesman assured in THESE TIMES that a campaign for pro-treaty speakers and newspaper ads would soon get underway.

The administration itself has also stepped up efforts to mobilize grassroots and congressional support, partly in response to criticism of administration inaction by Sen. Gary Hart (D-CO) and Rep. Les Aspin (D-WI). The State Department and ACDA have organized over 800 briefings for women's, business, environmental, religious, ethnic and veterans' organizations in the past year. Still, despite the quickened pace of the administration's campaign, more than a few officials are

worried that the critics of SALT have the upper hand, with one complaining, "We're outgunned and undermanned."

Liberal opponents.

Doubts about SALT on the left have hardly brightened prospects of Senate passage. Paul Warnke expressed the feelings of many liberals and radicals when, on Dec. 5, the former head strategic arms negotiator warned against administration efforts to "bribe" arms control opponents with new weapons systems and defense budget hikes. "There's always the risk," Warnke told a State Department briefing for grassroots activists, "that your enthusiasm to buy support for a treaty, you may find yourself making military expenditures or approving new weapons systems that might otherwise have been allowed to remain a bad dream in somebody else's mind."

Administration officials have candidly admitted that the planned \$12 billion in-

Continued on page 8.

A general for arms control?

"Putting Seignious in charge of the ACDA now is like putting the hawk in the chicken coop," commented one highly placed member of the American arms control community. He pointed out that Lt. Gen. George M. Seignious II (ret.), the recently appointed head of the Arms Control and Disarmament Agency, was head of the Defense Security Assistance Agency during 1971 and 1972, overseeing a remarkable increase in the level of U.S. foreign arms sales as part of the "Nixon Doctrine." Annual arms exports rose from \$265 million to \$1.3 billion during those years.

The Arms Control and Disarmament Agency, established in 1961 through the efforts of the late Senator Hubert Humphrey, was created specifically to develop non-military approaches to the nation's security interests.

Carter's appointment of Seignious during a congressional recess could allow the retired officer to serve up to a year without Senate confirmation. Most observers believe the move is intended to defuse opposition to the treaty and to former ACDA director Paul Warnke, who has been a lightning rod for conservative lobbying groups.

However, it now appears that the administration may have made a major policy blunder in making the appoint-

ment. Carter has alienated key SALT backers when he needs their support most, without gaining sufficient conservative support.

The Federation of American Scientists, one of the most influential pro-SALT lobbying groups in Washington, is publicly opposed to the Seignious appointment. The organization has circulated a letter calling on Congress to pass a law that will prohibit retired military officers from serving as head or deputy director of ACDA for ten years after they leave military service.

"We observe that ACDA deserves at least as stringent civilian control as does the Department of Defense," the letter states. It was signed by former ambassador to the USSR George Kennan, economist John Kenneth Galbraith and William C. Foster, a former head of ACDA, among others.

Opposition to the Seignious appointment has also developed within the ACDA itself. One highly placed official involved in conventional arms limitation issues said in an interview. "The purpose for founding ACDA was really to have a countervoice in the administration as distinct from the Pentagon voice, and therefore I think to have a civilian person as head of our agency makes more sense than to have a life-long mili-

tary officer."

The administration has been waging a behind-the-scenes campaign to avoid a public showdown over the Seignious appointment. "Seignious may well be confirmed because everybody here is being blackmailed by administration people saying, 'Don't upset the SALT applecart with a pre-fight over the appointment,'" according to Jeremy Stone, the director of the Federation of American Scientists.

Immediately after the Seignious appointment it was learned that the general, who has been an at-large member of the American SALT negotiating team since 1977, was a member of the ultra-conservative Coalition for Peace Through Strength set up by the American Security Council to "stop SALT II." Although he resigned from the group shortly before his appointment, Seignious has drawn criticism both for joining the group and for his speedy resignation.

In his resignation letter Seignious stated, "I personally resent the distorted and untrue statements" about SALT contained in the Coalition literature. He claimed he joined the anti-SALT group without knowing the real purpose of the organization.

—John Markoff

(© 1978 Pacific News Service)

LABOR

Workers demand access to records

By Gail Barazani

THE DEPARTMENT OF HEALTH, Education and Welfare estimates that 880,000 American workers are exposed to substances in the workplace that may cause serious illness. The demand for information by workers and researchers studying the work environment has created the need for procedures to gain information.

The Occupational Safety and Health Administration is in the process of setting up rules that will at the same time safeguard the privacy rights of individuals and provide for the release of information to researchers.

Under the 1970 Occupational Safety and Health Act, OSHA has the authority to examine and copy employee exposure and medical records held by employers. But controversy over privacy rights and employers' rights to withhold confidential information has forced OSHA to hold hearings on guidelines for access to these records.

Public hearings on the guidelines were held in December and January in Washington, D.C., Chicago, and San Francisco. On Dec. 12, the first day of hearings in Chicago, with 45 union workers in a support demonstration outside the Federal Building, 25 representatives of unions and workers' groups testified, urging adoption of the so-called Right to Know Rules.

Arguing that more health studies of

workplace hazards are needed and that medical records should be accessible, many workers testified that such information is already readily accessible to management and that confidentiality in the patient-physician relationship—an issue raised by the American Medical Association—does not exist if the doctor works for the company.

In the Jan. 9 and 10 hearings, testimony was given by representatives of manufacturers and the AMA, largely against the proposed rules or for strict interpretation or limitation of them. Arguments were based on problems of implementation of record keeping, costs, security of and access to information, interpretation and regulation, and the safeguarding of confidentiality in the physician-patient relationship.

Testimony in support of complete worker access to records was given by George Becker of the United Steelworkers. Citing the case of an Indiana smelter where workers have been exposed to potential lead poisoning, he told of the company's claims that information about blood lead levels and chelation therapy was confidential.

In fact, he said, the chelation treatment was denounced 20 years ago.

He urged adoption of rules giving the worker complete access to his medical records and provisions to assure confidentiality of records used by OSHA and NIOSH.

Joel Swartz, professor of occupational and environmental medicine at the University of Illinois School of Public Health,



Workers demonstrate outside the federal building in Chicago at Jan. 9-10 hearings.

presently researching occupational carcinogens, testified that record keeping is essential to determine the extent of occupational disease.

He recalled that current standards limiting exposure to lead, benzene, and other chemicals were determined on the basis of worker records, and said that if such records had been maintained, earlier, safer standards of exposure could have been developed.

He urged that records be kept for as long as 25 years so that diseases like cancer with long latency periods could be studied.

The importance of confidentiality in the physician-patient relationship was emphasized by Dr. Lowell H. Steen of the AMA. He claimed that access to complete medical records of a worker by OSHA was undesirable, that it could lead to misuse, that date might be exposed about other family members, and that patient files of physicians who work only part-time for industry might be exposed.

Many of those attending the hearings expected that OSHA's guidelines will be

approved but that industry may try to add limitations that would make it more difficult to gain access to records.

Even with approval, court battles are likely to clarify such terms as "compelling need" and "particular regard." Physicians who testified admitted that there were instances when private medical records must be examined by public officials, as in the case of epidemics such as "Legionnaires' Disease" and venereal diseases, but they seem unconvinced that occupational diseases are also in the category of "compelling need." Researchers said that it won't be long before these new "epidemics" in the workplace will be obvious to everyone.

Kevin Conlon, OSHA division of Consumer Affairs, Third Street and Constitution Ave., NW, Washington, D.C. 20210, is the person to write if you have comments on the proposed rules.

Gail Barazani is a writer and activist in occupational safety and health, a former research associate at the University of Illinois School of Public Health in occupational and environmental medicine.

New extradition decision threatens accused

By Hall Triplett

THE U.S. SUPREME COURT HAS removed one of the few legal rays of hope for a person facing extradition to one state from another on a criminal charge, and the Court has once more reminded those who study rules of law of the multiple sovereignty that clutters and confuses American law.

The December 1978 decision in *Michigan v. Doran* could be said to stand for the principle that an accused person cannot get the breaks ordinarily available from the courts in an arresting state if the governor of that state grants an extradition request based on a judicial statement of probable cause in the complaint from the charging state.

Harold William Doran was arrested in Michigan in a truck apparently stolen in Arizona. After Michigan authorities notified Arizona authorities of the arrest, a criminal complaint was sworn before an Arizona Justice of the Peace; an extradition request was then sent by the office of the governor of Arizona to the office of the governor of Michigan, which granted the request.

Doran then petitioned the Michigan courts for a writ of habeas corpus, claiming that he should be released because the Arizona complaint lacked a sufficient factual basis to provide the "probable cause" necessary to seize a person under the Fourth Amendment. Doran won this point before the Supreme Court of Michigan, which ordered his release after two lower courts had denied release. The U.S. Supreme Court has now reversed that victory after Michigan executive authorities petitioned for review.

Extradition is a mutual states' right, secured by Article IV, Section 2 of the U.S. Constitution. This extradition clause is preceded by a provision known as the Full Faith and Credit Clause, that requires the states to recognize each other's

laws. The latter provision, however, is far from an absolute requirement.

Not only do the laws of different states vary tremendously, but each state even has its own rules for resolving conflicts with another state's laws, although there are points of similarity that provide a rough path through the thicket. For example, a state is not absolutely required to enforce another state's criminal judgment, the Supreme Court held in a 1970

decision. The Doran decision even leaves open the right of one state to declare *executively* that a recital of probable cause with no apparent factual basis, like the one forwarded from Arizona, is insufficient to constitute a "substantial" charge in the language of the Uniform Criminal Extradition Act, which most if not all states have enacted.

However, the likelihood remains that, for most cases, extradition requests will

Supreme Court's Doran case tightens options for those seeking asylum.

case based on the Full Faith and Credit Clause.

Doran eliminates flexibility.

The Doran case left no similar flexibility in the Extradition Clause respecting another state's judicial finding of probable cause in the issuance of a complaint and arrest warrant. Although the case was pleaded and briefed upon the precise scope of the Fourth Amendment in extradition cases, Chief Justice Burger couched the Court's opinion in much broader language.

He was careful to narrow the scope, however, when he wrote: "We hold that once the governor of the asylum [arresting] state has acted on a requisition for extradition based on the demanding state's judicial determination that probable cause existed, no further judicial inquiry may be had on that issue in the asylum state." It is this sentence that will properly control future cases.

The Doran decision should certainly again place lawyers, including their "jailhouse" cousins, on notice that the executive stage is the place to present whatever case a fugitive might have against extra-

dition. The Doran decision even leaves open the right of one state to declare *executively* that a recital of probable cause with no apparent factual basis, like the one forwarded from Arizona, is insufficient to constitute a "substantial" charge in the language of the Uniform Criminal Extradition Act, which most if not all states have enacted.

Double jeopardy.

The Doran case is a reminder of the multiple sovereignty patchwork of laws that regulate citizenship in the United States. The citizen is subject within even one state to a staggering variation and compilation of governmental statutes, ordinances, rules and regulations—from state to county, to township, to municipality, to park district, sanitary district or mosquito-abatement district.

A frightening variation on multiple sovereignty is the notion of "dual sovereignty" between the federal and state governments and the way this notion affects double jeopardy law. In the *Bartkus* case in 1959, the Supreme Court refused to reverse an Illinois conviction for bank robbery although the accused had been acquitted of the same bank robbery in a federal trial.

This double jeopardy principle seemed

to be breaking up in 1970 when the Supreme Court ruled in *Waller v. Florida* that a state and a municipality within that state could not both prosecute a person for the same act. But last year, in *United States v. Wheeler*, the Court allowed a federal district court to prosecute a Navajo Indian for statutory rape more than one year after he had been convicted in a tribal court and spent jail time for the same deed.

The Court reaffirmed *Bartkus*, explaining that a city is merely a *subordinate* of the state sovereign, whereas a state, as well as an Indian tribe, is *separate* in its source of power from the federal government. The Court reasoned that the same act is not the same offense when it is prohibited by two different sovereigns, utilizing a highly abstract definition of "offense" that relates to the language of a statute rather than the personal commission of the act.

Argument based on this level of abstraction, if presented on behalf of individual rights, could be expected to be scorned as metaphysics rather than law. Now, with the *Wheeler* Indian tribe case, the abstraction has been raised one step higher, and the term "dual sovereignty" must give way to "triple sovereignty," for the Court's decisions now would allow Arizona (where the Navajo reservation was located) to prosecute the same Indian a third time for the same sex act for which he will already have been "twice placed in jeopardy."

Extradition is thus only one circumstance wherein an American citizen can be caught in a web of conflicting, overlapping, separate or subordinate systems of law, each wanting a pound of flesh. In this context, the citizen who has been endowed with certain inalienable rights might be expected to be entitled to a break anywhere he or she can find it. Not so.

Hall Triplett is a Chicago attorney whose practice includes criminal trials and appeals.

ASSASSINATION

Yes, Virginia, there was a conspiracy

By Marty Jezer

ACCORDING TO THE HOUSE Select Committee on Assassinations, "President John F. Kennedy was probably assassinated as a result of a conspiracy." The conclusions of the Warren Commission report are now discredited. Two gunmen, not one, took four shots, not three, at President Kennedy, the Committee concluded. Lee Harvey Oswald was one of the assassins. The identity of the second gunman is unknown. The House Committee admits that it does not know the full extent of the conspiracy.

Available evidence indicates that individual members of the Mafia and of anti-Castro Cuban exile groups may have been involved in the conspiracy, the House Committee asserts, but the representatives doubt that the actual participants will ever be found. It will be difficult "to pick up the leads" that "should have been developed 15 years ago," committee chairman Louis Stokes (D-OH) says.

But leads do exist. The major question is: does the House Committee or the Justice Department have the will to track them down?

Evidence placing Lee Harvey Oswald in a milieu of anti-Castroites and Cuban exiles has been uncovered. The place is New Orleans and the time is the summer and autumn of 1963, just prior to the assassination. At least one of the anti-Castroites whom Oswald was friendly with had close Mafia ties.

The Warren Commission did not uncover, or chose to ignore, this evidence. Independent investigators James T. Valliere and Sandy Hochberg developed this evidence in 1968. It was first published in *Win* magazine in February 1969. Because Valliere and Hochberg contradicted the Warren Report, their evidence was ignored.

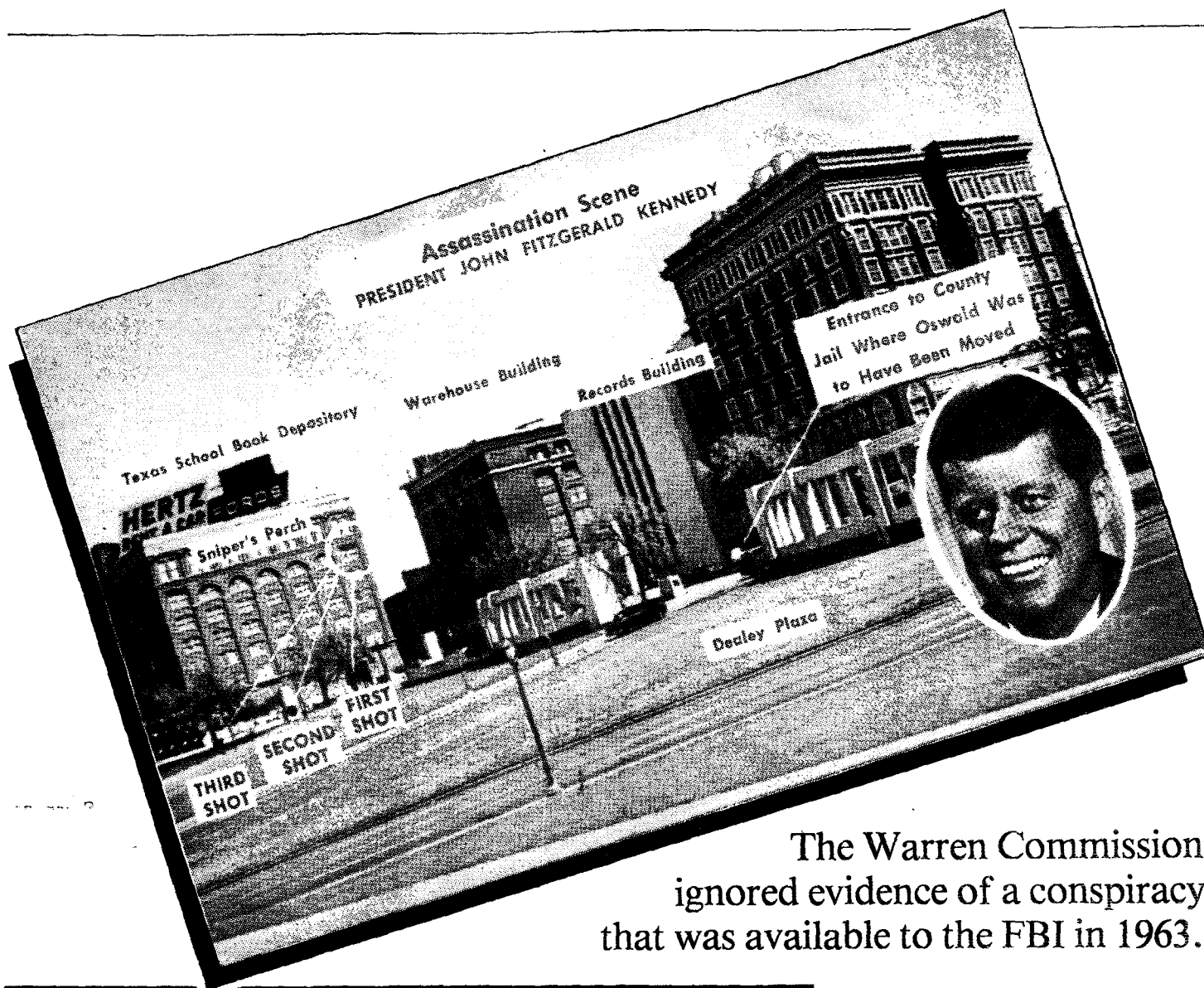
The key figure for Lee Harvey Oswald in New Orleans was David William Ferrie, a pilot and private investigator who died in 1967. From 1954 until his death, Ferrie was employed by the New Orleans Mafia leader Carlos Marcello as a personal pilot and investigator. Ferrie was also involved with Cuban exile groups in their attempts to overthrow the government of Fidel Castro. Ferrie claimed he took part in the planning and staging of the Bay of Pigs invasion of Cuba and, through this, may have had some, as yet, unspecified CIA connections. He sometimes flew missions into Cuba, taking munitions in, bringing anti-Castroites out. He was also involved in the training of anti-Castro guerilla forces in locations around New Orleans. One of these training camps was located on property owned by William McLaney whose brother Mike had made millions of dollars from gambling interests in Havana, before Castro shut him down.

The FBI knew of the Oswald-Ferrie connection. In November 1963, five days after the Kennedy assassination, Ferrie was interviewed by two FBI agents. According to their report of this interview, Ferrie denied "knowing or having met Lee Harvey Oswald in the Civil Air Patrol or in any business and social capacity." According to the FBI, Ferrie also denied ever having loaned Lee Harvey Oswald, or anyone else, his library card.

The only reason to ask Ferrie if he had loaned Oswald his library card would be if Ferrie's library card had been found among Oswald's possessions. The only reason to ask Ferrie if he knew Oswald in the Civil Air Patrol would be if the FBI was developing evidence in that direction.

Oswald and Ferrie.

In fact, Oswald first met William Ferrie in 1955 in New Orleans when he joined the Civil Air Patrol where Ferrie was a squadron commander. Possibly, Ferrie served as Oswald's intellectual mentor.



The Warren Commission ignored evidence of a conspiracy that was available to the FBI in 1963.

Two committee members question its conclusions

WASHINGTON

When the House Select Committee on Assassinations met in executive session on the night of Friday, Dec. 29, to vote on its findings, there were two dissenters to the committee's conclusions on the Kennedy assassination.

One, Rep. Robert Edgar (D-PA), questioned the accuracy of the 95 percent probability of a grassy knoll shot, cited by the acoustics experts. The other, Rep. Christopher Dodd (D-CT), dissented for another reason. He could not endorse the committee's findings that Lee Harvey Oswald fired three shots.

Dodd is troubled by the 1.6-second time gap between the first and second shots. He does not believe there is sufficient evidence to support the conclusion that Oswald fired both shots with his Mannlicher-Carcano.

The FBI told the Warren Commission the minimum time needed to operate the bolt-action rifle is 2.3 seconds. Committee chief counsel G. Robert Blakey test-fired the rifle himself and told the committee the minimum time could be as little as 1.65 seconds. But in the absence of additional testing, Dodd is unconvinced that Oswald could have fired both the first and second shots. Coupled with the gunman on the grassy knoll, this raises the possibility of not just two, but three gunmen.

The findings of the HSCA that President Kennedy "was probably assassinated as a result of a conspiracy" apparently struck a sensitive nerve in the collective psyche of the editorial writers for America's two major dailies—the *Washington Post* and the *New York Times*.

Long accustomed to ridiculing conspiracy theorists and staunchly defending the lone assassin finding, the editorialists were confronted with "scientific evidence establishing a high probability that two gunmen fired" at JFK. So, how did they respond? First, they recoiled

at the very use of the word conspiracy—a word, says the *Post* (Jan. 6, 1979), "that suggests many people acting together in a political plot, with cold and careful calculation." Disturbed by this specter, the *Post* asks whether the second gunman "could have been some other malcontent whom Oswald met casually?"

The *Times* (Jan. 7, 1979) likewise objected to the use of "conspiracy"—believing that it would not have been hard for the committee "to find language that suggests, say, 'two maniacs' rather than 'massive plot.'"

On the other hand, veteran Warren Commission defender Jacob Cohen, writing in the *Boston Phoenix* (Jan. 9, 1979), was sufficiently impressed with the new evidence to conclude there was a conspiracy and that "entertaining the notion of two lonely assassins humiliates the imagination."

Although few on Capitol Hill were so moved to defy basic common sense as the *Times* and the *Post*, the reaction to the committee's probable conspiracy theory was guarded and cautious. Sen. Kennedy's office responded with a stream of "no comments" to questions about the committee's work and findings. A similar response was obtained from Speaker O'Neil's office.

Although the committee recommended that the information it has developed be turned over to the Justice Department for further investigation, there has been talk of establishing a special prosecutor's office. Rather than having to rely on the investigative skills of the FBI, a special prosecutor, it is argued, would be independent and might meet with greater success.

But for the time, no action is contemplated. A representative for the Justice Department said it will wait to review the committee's complete report before determining whether further investigation is warranted. The HSCA's final 40-volume report is expected to be released this spring.

—David Williams

He had a brilliant, if eccentric, mind and a reputation for taking young men under his wing. At any rate, when Oswald joined the Marines at the age of 16, having dropped out of school after the 9th grade, he had, according to the Warren Report, an interest in politics and foreign affairs and an inquiring mind.

After the Marines, Oswald defected to the Soviet Union, where he lived from 1959 until 1962. Returning to the U.S., he settled in New Orleans in April, 1963, and again became friends with William Ferrie.

Besides working for Carlos Marcello, Ferrie did investigative work for the Guy Bannister Detective Agency in New Orleans. Bannister was a former FBI agent who was active in anti-Castro causes. He was a founder of the pro-Batista Friends of Cuba and both he and Ferrie were active in the anti-Castro Crusade to Free Cuba.

The New Orleans address of the Bannister agency was known to the FBI. At least two FBI agents, Regis Kennedy and Warren DeBrueys, kept tabs on anti-Castro activity in the building and no doubt filed reports. Oswald's activities there were known to the Warren Commission as well. During the summer of 1963, Oswald was seen in New Orleans handing out leaflets for the pro-Castro Fair Play for Cuba (FPFC) Committee. According to the Warren Commission, the address stamped on Oswald's leaflets was the agency's.

Why did Oswald support Castro?

If Oswald was sympathetic to Castro's cause, why would he set up an office of the FPFC Committee in a building that was a beehive of anti-Castro activity?

The truth is that Oswald was not sympathetic to Castro. According to the Warren Commission, the New Orleans chapter of the FPFC was a bogus operation. Lee Harvey Oswald was its only member.

Or, from another vantage, if Oswald was a friend of Ferrie and active with him in anti-Castro activities, why was he handing out pro-Castro leaflets?

Marina Oswald, for one, told the Warren Commission that her husband engaged in FPFC activities "primarily for self-advertising. He wanted to be arrested. I think he wanted to get into the news-

Continued on page 8.

Oswald

Continued from page 7.

papers so he could be known." In the same testimony, Mrs. Oswald also said, "I only knew that his basic desire was to get to Cuba by any means, and all the rest of it is window dressing."

Oswald seemed to be working diligently to create a pro-Castro image for himself. While leafletting on Aug. 9, 1963, he was attacked by a Cuban exile named Carlos Bringuier. The two men knew each other. Both were arrested, but Bringuier was released. Oswald chose to accept notoriety as a Castro sympathizer. He pled guilty and was fined. The subsequent publicity enabled him to talk about his support of Castro on two radio interviews in New Orleans.

According to the Warren Commission Report, Oswald created this pro-Castro image in order to convince the Cuban government to allow him to live there.

But how does this jibe with his friendship with Ferrie?

We know from other Congressional investigations that the CIA made a number of attempts to assassinate Fidel Castro and that leaders of the Mafia were sometimes recruited to carry them out.

Was Oswald trying to get into Cuba in order to assassinate Fidel Castro? This we do not know because the Cubans denied him a visa. But we do know that Oswald was involved in the plot to assassinate

ate President Kennedy. What is that connection?

In the early '60s, the New Orleans area was bristling with anti-Castro activity, much of it military. Up until the Bay of Pigs, these activities enjoyed CIA support. But after the Bay of Pigs failure, Kennedy became disenchanted with the CIA and its support of the Cuban exiles. Gradually, the federal government withdrew its support from more militant anti-Castro activities. Disengagement was accelerated during the summer of 1963 with the signing of the Nuclear Test Ban Treaty and the growing detente with the Soviet Union. Kennedy had promised the Cuban exiles his continued support. But now he was abandoning them. CIA money for Cuban exile military groups dried up, and it became clear to the anti-Castro militants that Kennedy would not support another invasion of Cuba.

Many of these Cubans were understandably bitter, feeling that Kennedy had reneged on past promises. They wanted immediate military action to overthrow Castro and knew that Kennedy stood in their way. The Mafia, of course, was always ready to support their ambitions. Castro's demise would enable them to reestablish their gambling and prostitution interests in Havana.

Through his friendship with Ferrie, Oswald knew many militant anti-Castroites. The Warren Report does not account for all of Oswald's activities in New Orleans in the months before the assassination. From May 10 to July 19, 1963, he worked at the William B. Reilly Company, one and a half blocks away from

Assassination Information Bureau aims to educate Americans

WASHINGTON

The AIB (Assassination Information Bureau) was originated in 1974 as a non-profit, independent, research-educational corporation headquartered in Cambridge, Mass. It formally opened its Washington office in March 1977. The AIB's initial task was to educate the American public about the distinctions between the historical realities of recent assassinations and the practical "truths" that conceal covert dealings. At this moment, Carl Oglesby and Jeffrey Goldberg are working at the AIB office, but others have contributed to the search; most are ordinary people who had to educate themselves in politics every step of the way.

On each front page of the AIB's bi-monthly newsletter, *Clandestine America*, is a quote by Ed Sanders: "This is the Age of Investigation and every citizen must investigate." These words reveal the state of mind of the AIB, its struggle to prove that individual awareness is one of the best remedies to keep a country healthy.

Overcoming the fears natural to this subject, AIB people succeeded in clearing the road for investigation. They delivered over 600 lectures in 48 states, held press conferences, conducted seminars and gave TV and radio interviews. They made their knowledge available to all with photographs, copies of articles and books, including those by Carl Oglesby (*The Yankee-Cowboy War*) and Harvey Yazjian (*Government by Gunplay*).

They held on to the reality of the facts in their assessment of the JFK, King and Lofcher-Moffitt assassinations. They did not fall into the pattern of creating sensational news but, as Carl Oglesby said, "In contrast to the intellectually reckless self-serving manner of Mark Lane, the AIB has tried to stay serious, modest and sensitive to the politics of the issue."

Today, the AIB is recognized as an important organization, therefore indicating that each informed citizen can get at the truth of political coverups.

—Elisabeth Huguenin

the Bannister agency. The rest of his time was spent supposedly looking for work.

An investigation of the Kennedy conspiracy properly begins here. If we can find out who Oswald was hanging out with during this period in New Orleans,

and Fellowship of Reconciliation.

A piece of paper.

The right is marshalling its much more visible and superior resources to waylay the SALT agreement. Conservatives are "most unenthusiastic." "We don't like America to be number two and SALT II would lock us into strategic inferiority," says John Fisher, director of the American Security Council. "Suppose we were to achieve parity—then we'd give it to the Russians on the level of conventional arms." Fisher is concerned about verification of any agreement as well. "How do we prevent the Russians from cheating? Our satellites can spot a newspaper on a Russian doorstep all right, but what if they take it inside?"

The American Security Council plans, as with its fight against the Panama Canal treaty, to utilize full-page ads in newspapers across the country and speaking tours by analysts like Paul Nitze to take the message against SALT to the American people. Fisher believes that "a piece of paper is no substitute for security" and that, as more and more people are exposed to the debate, opinion polls now showing two-thirds of Americans in favor of SALT will be reversed.

Both Fisher and Charles Kupperman, a defense analyst with the Committee on the Present Danger, favor targeting MX missiles against Soviet missile silos, as a necessary "counterforce." "If the Russians threaten American interests in Iran or southern Africa, we have nothing to threaten them with," explained Fisher. Kupperman brushes off State Department claims of equal aggregates and reductions in Soviet launchers under SALT as misleading. "Let's look at equality in terms of capabilities, not num-

we would probably know who participated with him in the killing of President Kennedy.

Marty Jezer, now a freelance journalist in Vermont, was an editor of *Win* in 1969.

bers," asserted Kupperman, "and there the Soviets are way ahead. Any launchers they might have to destroy would be obsolete aging models—in essence, worthless from a strategic viewpoint."

Moderate Republicans the key.

A two-thirds majority is needed for Senate ratification. Though administration hopes for ratification suffered a setback in the November elections when liberal Senators Anderson, Hathaway, McIntyre, and Clark went down in defeat, President Carter expressed confidence in his first post-election press conference that "both Democrats and Republicans, liberals and conservatives, favor an agreement with the Soviet Union that would limit the threat of nuclear arms in the future."

Both proponents and opponents of SALT look to moderate Republican votes as key to the treaty's passage in the Senate, as was the case with the Panama Canal treaty and the lifting of the arms embargo against Turkey last year. Sen. Henry Jackson (D-WA), however, warned the President after the Canal treaty ratification last spring, "The message of this vote is that SALT is in real trouble. There's a long list of us who voted for the Panama treaties who will vote against SALT." Sen. Robert Byrd (D-WV), the majority leader and Howard Baker (R-TN) the minority leader, have also cautioned Carter not to be too confident, with Baker suggesting that more Republican support for SALT would be forthcoming if the administration backed the B-1 bomber, the MX missile, and a hefty Navy shipbuilding program.

"Any two-thirds vote," one high-placed Senate staffer told *IN THESE TIMES*, "requires support across the aisle and across ideological lines. Because the polls show public opinion favoring a SALT treaty in principle, the situation is different from Panama. But then a crisis in, say, Iran or South Africa could change the atmosphere and doom SALT for sure."

The administration will also keep in mind that the Senate ratified Paul Warnke's nomination to become chief strategic arms negotiator by only 58-40 early in 1977—less than the two-thirds necessary for SALT ratification—and that foes of SALT in the Congress lie in waiting to disparage the treaty. The next several months will decide whether the battle over SALT will be counted yet another come-from-behind triumph—like the Panama Canal—or an embarrassing and inglorious defeat for the administration.

Patrick Lacey is on the staff of *WIN Magazine* in New York City.

SALT II

Continued from page 5.

crease in military spending for fiscal year 1980 is intended to help assuage Senate conservatives and pave the way for ratification. A defense spending increase, coupled with the administration's goal of a balanced budget and anti-inflation policies, could well sound the death knell for some domestic social programs and cripple others. SALT critics on the left also point to the administration go-ahead on manufacture of the artillery shells and Lance missiles designed to contain the neutron bomb—described by some as the first step toward deployment of neutron weapons in Western Europe—and the appointment of Seignious to replace Paul Warnke as director of ACDA.

David Johnson, director of research for the Center for Defense Information, a liberal Washington-based defense research group, characterized the dominant liberal mood about SALT as pessimistic. According to Johnson, even retired Admiral Gene LaRoque—no flaming radical, rather a moderately liberal Pentagon critic—was toying with opposing SALT. Of particular concern to liberals has been the administration turnabout on the MX missile.

Less than a year ago, Carter announced that a primary goal in SALT would be a ban on mobile missiles since they would create enormous problems in verification. Even more recently, Sec. of Defense Harold Brown spoke out against placing undue emphasis on the Soviet threat to American intercontinental ballistic missiles, the alleged reason for the deployment of the MX missile. The MX would either be deployed underground and moved back and forth on railroad cars or be launched from airplanes with either option costing in the neighborhood of \$40 billion. "Despite its unimpressive intellectual history," said Johnson, "both Carter and Brown have unfortunately decided that something has to be done about our ICBMs and the MX, in some form, is it."

Sidney Lens, long-time labor and disarmament activist and one of the initiators of the Mobilization for Survival, discounts the notion of a return to the Cold War should SALT be defeated. "If it's rejected," said Lens, "they'll get back together and negotiate some more. Under SALT II, total U.S. deliverable warheads will rise from 9500 at present to more than 13,000 and the Soviets will increase their arsenal from 4,500 to 8,100." Lens points with some satisfaction to recent statements rejecting SALT from the magazines, the *Progressive* and *Inquiry*, as well as from the War Resisters League

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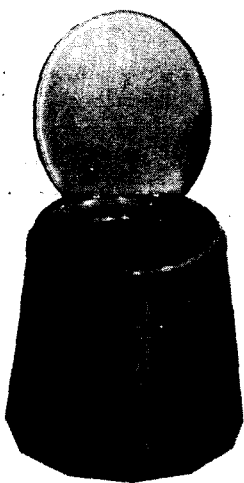
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IN THE WORLD

INDOCHINA

Cambodia unrest emboldens Viets

By Gareth Porter

THE BOLD VIETNAMESE MOVE to unseat the Pol Pot regime in Cambodia is the outcome of a series of developments that destroyed the elegant power balance established in Indochina after the victories of the Vietnamese and Cambodian revolutionary movements in April 1975.

The factors that eliminated the balance included Cambodia's own provocative border policy, the deterioration of Chinese-Vietnamese relations, the growing Chinese role in supporting Cambodia against Vietnam, and the weakening of Pol Pot's regime because of military insurrections and purges.

Circumstances at the close of the war in 1975 held Vietnam tightly in check. Concerned about maintaining friendly relations with China, which regarded Cambodian independence as vital, Vietnamese foreign policy required normal relations with Southeast Asia as well as with the U.S. So Hanoi leaned over backwards in 1975-76 to avoid the appearance of aggressiveness in its relations with Cambodia.

Moreover, Vietnamese officials did not regard Cambodian border attacks in 1976-77 as an immediate threat and were still confident that Cambodia would negotiate a border settlement. When Vietnamese troops launched a major counter attack in late 1977, Hanoi apparently felt it could teach the Cambodian regime a lesson and force a negotiated settlement.

Instead, Cambodia stepped up its attacks across the border and spurned a Vietnamese offer to insure a cease-fire by withdrawing troops five kilometers behind the border and establishing an international presence between the two sides. Later, Vietnamese officials would attest that they had underestimated the strength of the Cambodian attacks. "In fact, we somewhat looked down on them," said a Central Committee member in Hanoi last November.

By early 1978, the Vietnamese began to realize that the Cambodian attacks on Vietnamese border settlements and towns were seriously aimed at creating a "no man's land" in the border area. Thousands of Vietnamese civilians living near the border were massacred by Cambodian troops, and a general climate of insecurity in the border provinces prevailed. Hundreds of thousands of people were forced to abandon the two zones that had been expected to provide productive employment for the jobless from the cities in the South. This coincided with increasingly serious food shortages throughout Vietnam, which intensified after devastating floods last September wiped out three million tons of paddy.

The rigid refusal of the Pol Pot regime to negotiate with its ancient enemy Vietnam deprived Cambodia of one of the constraints on Vietnamese power. The Cambodian Communist leaders appear to have shared former Prince Norodom Sihanouk's attitude that any negotiation on territorial issues would ultimately invite aggression by Vietnam.

According to Political Bureau member Xuan Thuy, in an interview last November, the Cambodian delegation to preliminary border talks in May 1976 demanded 11 changes in the previously accepted French map of the border. When the Vietnamese refused to make changes, Cambodian delegates suspended the talks to consult with Phnom Penh and never resumed negotiations.

Cambodian ambassador to Hanoi, In Sivout, told a European diplomat in September 1977 that Phnom Penh would not



Vietnamese general describes to Western journalists incursions of their borders by Cambodians.

negotiate a border agreement with Vietnam unless Vietnamese troops were first withdrawn from contested areas—a position ruling out diplomatic solution.

The Vietnamese might have attempted some other means of solving the border problem, however, had they not begun in 1978 to consider the Pol Pot regime as an arm of their real enemy—China.

China's military and political support for Cambodia caused Hanoi to conclude that China was deliberately threatening Vietnam's security, stability and economic development. After China began to attack Vietnam openly for its alleged mistreatment of ethnic Chinese, and withdrew its aid program in May of 1978, the Vietnamese concluded that China had to be considered as Vietnam's main enemy. At a secret Central Committee plenum in mid-July, Vietnamese party leaders passed a resolution recognizing China as the enemy.

By that time, according to a Central Committee source, the Vietnamese saw China's hostility in bilateral relations with Vietnam and the border war with Cambodia as "one war."

The logical implication was that the Phnom Penh regime was not attacking Vietnam because of Cambodian interests, but was serving the interests of China.

The Vietnamese broadcast last June 22 of a former battalion commander's call for Cambodian troops to turn their guns against the Pol Pot regime was a signal that Hanoi's aims were no longer to reach a negotiated settlement but to overthrow the incumbent government.

The Vietnamese were also emboldened by internal uprisings against the Pol Pot regime, extensive political purges carried out in 1977-78 against civilian and military officials at all levels, and by Cambodian defections to the Vietnamese side.

Vietnamese sources claimed a series of

mutinies and insurrections by units of the Cambodian army, mostly in eastern Cambodia.

By mid-1978, a number of middle and upper level cadres from Phnom Penh's army and party were prepared to collaborate directly with the Vietnamese in overthrowing the Pol Pot regime. The Vietnamese believed they would be able to put together a Cambodian regime to replace the Pol Pot government when it was necessary. The only question remaining then was the precise timing of the lightning offensive.

(© 1979 Pacific News Service)

Gareth Porter recently returned from a fifth visit to Vietnam, where he interviewed high level officials as a guest of the government. Former co-director of the Indochina Resource Center and a consultant to the House MIA Committee, Porter is the author of *A Peace Denied*, a history of the Paris peace agreement.

Starvation threatens Vietnam

By Gareth Porter

ALREADY STRAINED TO THE limit by the military campaign in Cambodia, Vietnam is continuing to fight a rear-guard battle against an equally ancient enemy, starvation.

The food shortages here in the former South Vietnam capital are so severe that the government is now considering ending food rations to the unemployed in order to force them into the rural New Economic Zones.

"The main thing we are thinking about now is providing enough glucose to prevent starvation," said an economic specialist during a candid briefing.

He added that the present monthly ration of 13 kilos of foodstuffs per person for Vietnam's urban population is "not enough." The population of Saigon, now renamed Ho Chi Minh City, is suffering the worst from malnutrition, he said. He blamed the situation on bad management and the inability to get local authorities in the South to carry out policies aimed at easing the city's plight.

Floods in the Mekong Delta and Central Vietnamese provinces last September wiped out nearly three million tons of paddy, according to official figures. The overall food deficit for the country is put by Hanoi officials at over three million tons. Foreign assistance is not expected to make up the shortfall.

The urban population bears the brunt of the food shortage. Last September, the government had to cut the official ra-

tion from 15 kilos to 13 kilos a month. Of this total, government workers get only three kilograms in rice and ordinary citizens get only one kilogram in rice, say unofficial sources. The remainder of the ration is in wheat flour and sweet potatoes.

Only two years ago, according to private citizens in Ho Chi Minh City, each person received nine kilograms of rice per month along with six kilograms of wheat flour. Those engaged in manual labor could obtain an additional nine kilograms of rice per month.

The supply of other foodstuffs providing protein—meat, fish, eggs and milk—is also "very low," according to the Hanoi official.

The malnutrition in Saigon is not blamed entirely on the floods. "We have shortcomings in management," said the economic specialist. "Ho Chi Minh City is such a big city that our distribution system is not adequate."

Political-administrative problems have also adversely affected the supply of food to the city. The black market in rice, primarily carried out by individuals bringing bags of rice into the city from the countryside, was forbidden from 1975 to mid-1978, as the government tried to gain control over the politically sensitive rice market.

But in August 1978, so little rice was making its way into Ho Chi Minh City through official channels that the government decided to lift the restrictions on the private trade in rice. Orders were passed to provincial and local authorities not to interfere with individuals bringing rice into the city to sell, according to

Hanoi officials.

But although the order has been carried out in some areas, it is being ignored in others. Checkpoints are still being manned by militiamen on main highways, as I could observe on three trips outside Ho Chi Minh City. Buses are still being stopped and supplies of rice greater than required for a single family's needs for a week are being confiscated.

A Northern official explained this insubordination by local Southern authorities by citing their interest in keeping rice prices as low as possible. The price of rice on the black market is said to be three times higher in Ho Chi Minh City than in towns only 100 kilometers away.

Despite the food shortage in Ho Chi Minh City, there has been virtually no movement of population out of the city to the government-organized "New Economic Zones" for more than a year. There are now between 300,000 and 400,000 unemployed in the city, according to officials here, about 800,000 fewer than there were in May 1978.

Officials in the city say people are now deterred not only by the fear of hardships caused by primitive conditions in the Zones, but by the floods and insecurity prevailing in provinces bordering on Cambodia.

One city resident who is critical of the Communist regime reflected the popular image of the New Economic Zones when he estimated that only 5 to 10 percent of the people in the zones have a "good situation."

(© 1978 Pacific News Service)



By Linda Heiden

IRAN

New cabinet will not ease strains in Iran

The Iranian opposition will hold out against Bahktiar's effort to form a new government.

IT SEEMS THAT THE MORE THINGS change in Iran, the more they remain the same. With the continued inability of Prime Minister Shapur Bahktiar's government even to fill its own cabinet posts, and an intransigent Shah insistent upon remaining on the throne, the 14-month political crisis continues to lurch toward full-scale revolution.

Behind the now-familiar daily reports of torched government buildings and bullet-ridden corpses, the protagonists are preparing themselves for the explosive confrontation that most observers now agree is virtually unavoidable.

Bahktiar is only the latest in a succession of prime ministers who have tried without success to restore a semblance of order to the country since the 11-year-old government of Amir Abbas Hoveida was forced out by violent nationwide protests early last September. Following Hoveida's resignation, a civilian government led by "old-guard" member Sharif-Emami filled the post for two months until the army chief-of-staff came in.

But Gen. Gholam Reza Azhari was no better able to restore order than his predecessors had been, and by mid-December a replacement was being sought.

Bahktiar was given the post after Gholam Sadighi failed to form a cabinet. Upon notifying the Shah of his failure, Sadighi told him it would be impossible to form a new civilian government until he left the country.

But the Shah didn't leave, which is just one of several reasons why Bahktiar's attempt at forming a government faces imminent collapse. The new PM seemed determined to antagonize the opposition movement even before he was formally installed in the post.

Bahktiar's promises.

Despite the unmistakable message of months of bloody protests, Bahktiar insisted that "the Shah can stay if he guarantees that the constitution will be respected.... I hope I can settle the misunderstanding between the king and the nation" and "restore the legality of the king." SAVAK, says Bahktiar, is to be restricted to intelligence operations alone; the torture centers for which the secret police have become infamous are to be dismantled.

For a people forced to endure more than 30 years of royal "guarantees" and secret police atrocities, Bahktiar's proposed reforms could be seen as nothing less than a treasonous outrage. Protestors were quick to identify the new PM as "the Shah's new henchman" and the latest Iranian "dog at the end of the U.S. leash." Ayatollah Ruhollah Khomeini told reporters at his French residence in exile

that "any cabinet approved by the Shah is illegal" and that "obedience to this administration is obedience to Satan."

Demonstrations turned into bloody riots in cities and towns throughout the country. In Mashad, troops opened fire on protesters and drove tanks through their procession, crushing dozens of people beneath them.

Two police stations, the house of an American military adviser, the British consulate, SAVAK headquarters and foreign-owned hotels and factories were gutted by fire by the enraged populace as a result. "The hospitals say there is no way you can count all the dead," said one observer. The city of Tabriz was also reported in flames, and massacres were reported in other cities and villages across the country.

Bahktiar's inability to deal with the escalating crisis illustrates just how desperate the situation has become for the Shah and his U.S. sponsors. As a former government minister under the popular government of Dr. Mohammad Mossadegh, overthrown in a CIA coup in 1953, and second in command of the bourgeois opposition National Front, Bahktiar seemed to have viable opposition credentials.

At the same time, he was known to be vehemently anti-communist and amenable to a "carrot and stick" approach to rule—repression in the name of reform. Martial law would have to be lifted gradually, he said, because of concern that "Communist elements" had infiltrated the opposition movement. It was hoped that such policies would placate hardline military officers who have pressed the Shah to smash the opposition movement.

Bahktiar lacks popular support.

But despite Bahktiar's credentials, the crucial fact is that he had no popular

backing before his appointment and has lost any hope of winning mass support by his announced policies and backing for the Shah.

Even if the monarch leaves the country now, as seems certain since the U.S. has withdrawn its support, Bahktiar's chances of appeasing the opposition movement are virtually nil. With eight of the 21 cabinet seats yet to be filled (Bahktiar has appointed himself to a ninth seat as minister of the Interior), the current government's days in office are clearly numbered.

The question is who—or what—will be capable of taking its place. Two alternatives appear likely: either a coalition government composed of the "moderate" religious opposition and the National Front, or a right-wing military coup.

U.S. likely to favor Sanjaby.

Of the two, a coalition government, probably headed by National Front leader Karim Sanjaby, is likely to be most favored by the U.S. Caught off guard by its own blinding confidence in the Shah's once iron-fisted rule, the CIA appears uncertain of whom it can rely upon to take up where the Shah has left off.

A breathing spell under the relative calm that a Sanjaby-led coalition government can be expected to produce would give the U.S. time to assemble the forces necessary to assure its interests in the area.

It would also allow a face-saving "attempt at democratic rule," especially useful in light of the Carter administration's proclaimed human rights policy. Should the government shortly begin coming apart at the seams, torn by its own internal contradictions, as it is likely to be, it could be argued that "the Iranians have proved themselves incapable of democratic self-rule and so the military had to intervene."

These considerations, together with the obvious fact that there is no hope for

peace unless the Shah leaves, are certain to result in unbearable pressure from abroad on the monarch to comply with the popular demand.

The fact is that, while such a coalition could expect popular support at the onset, the country's economic crisis, demands for punishment of those responsible for crimes of the last 25 years, and pressures from the military would bring almost unbearable pressures to bear on the new administration.

Bourgeoisie was corrupt.

Any serious crackdown on those who have availed themselves of past regimes' corruption or who have participated in the endless government atrocities and other crimes is certain to reach deep into the upper and middle ranks of both the civilian bourgeoisie and the military. Khomeini's demands for genuine land reform, social services and economic policies designed to benefit the working classes, which have the full support of the popular movement, run directly contrary to the interests of the sizeable comprador and bureaucratic bourgeoisie.

Inflation, which has risen to 200 percent in the last two months, will not be easily reduced after concessions to striking workers by the current regime raised pay scales 40-100 percent without any rise in productivity.

Coup likely.

The likely outcome of such pressures is renewed mass discontent and finally a coup by some sector of the military, attempting to restore stability by brute force.

U.S. administration officials say they fear that such a coup is being planned already, with the idea of restoring order so that the Shah, after a brief stay abroad, can resume power. But many observers, including some within the State Department, are uncertain that the officers can count on allegiance of their lower ranks. Mutinies are reported across the country in growing numbers, and the uncertainty of the military's reliability is cited as one reason why there hasn't been a major crackdown already.

The other question is to what extent the civilian population is prepared to fight back. Huge arms caches have been discovered in several places around the country, and there are rumors of many more yet undiscovered. Guerilla organizations such as the Moslem Organization of the Mojahedeen of the People of Iran (OM-PI) and the Organization of the Iranian People's Fedai Guerillas (OIPFG), who are already seasoned combatants, have called for the formation of a people's army.

For Americans, there is yet one more question. With the prospect of a civil war in Iran, and the subsequent heightening of tensions throughout the Gulf area, what will be the U.S. response? ■

SOUTH AFRICA

White government forced to build up black city schools

By Our Correspondent
in Southern Africa

WHAT WOULD BE ROUTINE elsewhere is often earthshaking in South Africa. Recently, the government announced it would build schools in Soweto and other black urban townships—long overdue, considering that the nationwide shortage is 7,000 classrooms. Punt Jansen, the white minister in charge of black education called the move a “tremendous” breakthrough. And the *Financial Mail*, a liberal weekly magazine, said it was “the best—and most important—news about black education in years.”

Neither was exaggerating. The announcement was one of the first steps to begin modifying the system of “Bantu Education,” the apartheid government’s sophisticated, centralized policy of confining blacks in separate and unequal schools, where ideological conformity and tribalism are rigidly enforced.

As one part of Bantu Education, the government channeled funds to black schools in the rural “homelands,” allowing the serious classroom shortages in urban areas to increase. The policy meshed nicely with the overall scheme of “grand apartheid,” under which “surplus Bantus”—blacks not needed in the urban economy, such as schoolchildren—are induced or forced back to the homelands, or Bantustans, where most of them have never been.

To construct new schools in urban townships, parents were forced to pay a levy tacked onto their rents. Some years ago, as the shortage became critical, they volunteered to pay even more. The government turned down the offer, explaining that any additional money would have to go to the Bantustans.

After the Soweto uprising, which broke out against Bantu Education, the verligte (enlightened) wing of the ruling National Party proposed modest reforms, hoping to limit further unrest and placate world opinion.

Besides building new schools, the government has put forward a new education bill which includes a promise to move toward compulsory education, which blacks have demanded for years. The bill would also institute pre-school education, and improve conditions for black teachers somewhat.

Black parent councils have already denounced the bill, which will be debated in the upcoming parliamentary session, and called instead for one system of equal education for all races. Though the government will not give much ground, the debate—both in and out of the whites-only Assembly—will air one of the most fundamental black grievances.

Starving the schools.

Hendrik Verwoerd, the ideological architect of apartheid who served as prime minister until his assassination in 1966, stated his intentions clearly when he introduced Bantu Education 25 years ago. “There is no place for him [the Bantu] in the European community above the level of certain forms of labour.... For that reason, it is of no avail for him to receive a training which has as its aim absorption in the European community.... Until now he has been subject to a school system which drew him away from his own community and misled him by showing him the green pastures of European society in which he is not allowed to graze.”

At that time, many Africans were educated at state-subsidized mission schools,

Black education has been geared to driving blacks out of the cities into rural bantu-stans.



A teacher finds room to crawl among children crowded into a Soweto schoolroom, sharing books.

which the Nationalists considered centers of liberalism. The government ended the subsidies, forcing most of the mission schools to close, and required those remaining open to follow a government syllabus of instruction.

At the same time, it introduced a new, centralized educational structure headed by whites. Blacks resisted the new system with a boycott in 1955, which was broken when the government announced it would expel children who stayed away from school and fine or imprison people running unlicensed schools.

Bantu Education soon developed into a clever and purposeful system of control and indoctrination, under which the quality of education for blacks has steadily deteriorated. The system’s first principle is

financial starvation. In 1953, government expenditure per capita for blacks was 14 percent that of whites; 25 years later, that figure had dropped to 6.5 percent. Financially strapped black parents are forced to pay school fees and buy textbooks, while schooling for whites is free.

The lack of funds has meant undertrained, underpaid teachers confronted with a worsening teacher-pupil ratio—from 46 to one in 1955 to nearly 60 to one in 1970. By 1972, 984,000 black primary students were attending “double-shift” sessions because of the shortage of classrooms and teachers.

The poor quality of education and the cost to families has naturally meant an enormous drop-out rate (see chart). Some 426,827 children entered primary school

in 1962; only 6,732 graduated from Form V, the last year of high school, 12 years later.

Students who remain in school face a planned effort to enhance divisions among the half-dozen major African peoples, or “tribes.” Bantu Education extended the use of one of the African languages as a medium of instruction throughout primary school, only introducing English partially in high school. Though Africans are certainly proud of their languages, they have often demanded instruction in English as both a gateway to the modern world and a way to improve communications between tribal groups.

The government-controlled syllabus either presents the white interpretation of South African history and culture, or ignores current affairs altogether. Students are tested annually on the syllabus, and must pass to advance in school.

Naturally, black organizations have steadily protested against Bantu Education, most dramatically in 1976. But there are signs that the government is upgrading the system somewhat as a result of the Soweto upheavals.

As the South African economy has expanded, labor shortages have required that blacks move into skilled positions previously reserved for whites. As the previous minister for black education said in early 1978, Verwoerd’s views had been justified in the early 1950s. But labor patterns were changing—and schooling would have to be improved.

Bantu Education will be changed in order to better fulfill its old function—serving the apartheid state.

Students recall Soweto schooldays

Zeke Mdlaka scanned one of the now-famous photographs of the first day of the Soweto rebellion, grinned, and pointed to one of the tiny figures in the front row of the marching student throng. “There I am,” he said. “This was taken just before it all started.”

Behind Zeke stretched a crowd of placard-waving students estimated at 15,000 strong. Student organizers had set out early that June morning, making the rounds of Soweto’s three dozen secondary schools, steadily increasing their numbers. They moved northeast through the sprawling township, toward Orlando Stadium, where they planned to hold a peaceful rally against the introduction of the Afrikaans language as a medium of instruction in their schools.

They drew up in an open plain just short of the stadium. Zeke recalled, “Many police, heavily armed, were waiting there. Some of them started circling, trying to surround us. We got the feeling that something was going to happen. We

backed up, and started singing protest songs. One of them was the hymn, ‘Give Us Strength, O Lord.’ Then, the police started shooting.”

As 13-year-old Hector Petersen, the first victim, fell, the stunned students retreated for the safety of the familiar township streets, picked up rocks, and started throwing. The uprising, which would spread across the country, claim an estimated 1,000 lives, and shatter the quietude that had prevailed in South Africa for more than a decade, was underway.

Zeke and two friends, Victor Nzima and Peter Pityana, are now living in a refugee camp in a neighboring black-ruled country, part of the exodus of several thousand student protesters. Recently, they talked at length about the background of the Soweto rebellion.

Different schools, different tribes.

All three men, who are now in their early 20s, have grown up under the hated Bantu Education system. They remem-

ber elementary schools with 60 or 70 students in each classroom, in which they used slates because there were no textbooks. “In my first years,” Nzima said, “we had class in a local church because the school was overflowing.”

They were forced to attend primary schools where one of the half-dozen African mother-tongues was the medium of instruction. “It’s all designed to increase tribalism,” explained Pityana, who is from the Mamelodi township outside Pretoria. “You might be a Zulu, and your next-door neighbor is a Tswana, but you go to different schools using different languages.”

“In our high school,” said Pityana, “school fees were 15 Rand (about \$13) and books were another 25 to 40 Rand. Now the average salary then was 25 Rand a week—you can see it’s not easy when there are several children.”

All three had part-time jobs. “I used to sell apples on the trains going from Soweto to Johannesburg,” Nzima

Continued on page 18.

POWER

The idea dies hard, I suppose, that the President of the United States runs this fine democracy of ours by himself, like some patrician cowboy wearing a white John D. Stetson hat and an immaculate silk kerchief, bucking high on his commander-in-chief's stallion before two hundred million troops. But there have always been gray flankers riding beside our cowboy President. Shadows, spooks, and nameless (at least to most of us) insiders, rarely elected, often without official title. They have, in administration after administration, formed a continuing and mostly hidden government for this country.

At the beginning of the Kennedy administration, Robert Lovett, Secretary of Defense under Truman, senior partner of Brown Bros., Harriman & Co., investment bankers, was offered the office of Secretary of the Treasury. Mr. Lovett had turned Kennedy down. So the President invited Bob Lovett to his office to discuss other jobs. Secretary of State? Secretary for Defense? No, Mr. Lovett was not interested. He had been sick. Who would he recommend then?

The President complained he did not know enough of the right people. Lovett told him he and his friends could supply lists. And he recommended a young go-getter named Dean Rusk for State, the bright head of Ford, Robert McNamara, for Defense, and perhaps Doug Dillon—although there were others—for Treasury.

Who are the Robert Lovetts of today? With a little digging we have come up with a list. They are not a secret government—nothing so conspiratorial. But they exercise more influence over the life of this country, in their different ways, than almost any elected official.

We had a little help. We asked Ralph Nader, Morton Halperin and Jack Newfield whom they might include. And we asked two researchers in a profession almost as elite, it seems, as the men and women it unmasks and explains: power structure researchers Ferdinand Lundberg (*America's Sixty Families*, *The Rich and the Super-Rich*) and G. William Domhoff, author of *Who Rules America?* and *Fat Cats and Democrats*.

One venerable muckraker, however, refused to contribute: I.F. Stone. "People behind the scenes don't matter one fucking bit!" Mr. Stone shouted over the phone from Washington. "They're interchangeable. It doesn't matter if it's Shithouse Joe. If you personify, you just detract from basic institutions!"

Mr. Stone has a point. If you freeze history, then it is the institutions—banks, the largest corporations, the Wall Street and Washington law firms, the elite think-tanks like the Brookings Institute and policy-making bodies such as the Committee on Foreign Relations—that wield established power in this country. Individuals then become intersection points on a structural grid of institutional power.

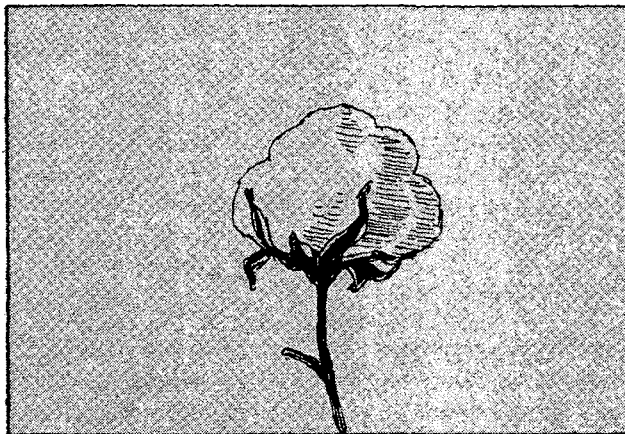
To paraphrase a memorable power research-

er of the 19th Century, people make their own history, only they do not make it just as they please. They make it in the context of the past, influenced by the institutions other people have set up before them.

There is a flow at work here between institutions and the particular individuals who run them at any time. Powerbrokers under corporate capitalism react to depressions and lost wars in the outer empire by setting up institutions to control and analyze change. Sometimes they are successful. Sometimes they are not.

This list includes those who are fabulously wealthy and those who hold the corporate world together for them. As best they can, of course, given annoying counterforces like Third World guerillas, Eurocommunists and troublesome intellectuals.

This list is a snapshot of a ruling class. Incomplete, lacking perfect definition and detail, streaked in spots by the distortion of those on the outside. But a picture, nevertheless, of power at a level few Americans imagine exists—even though they are touched by it every day.



**Ruth Chandler Williamson
Boswell Crocker**
"Coming and Going"

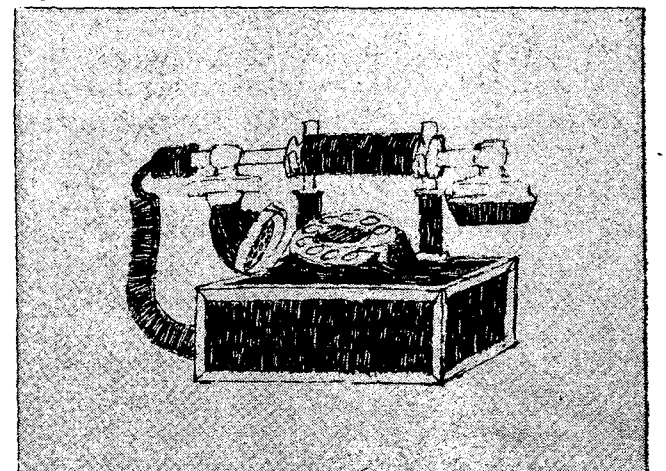
With a four-star name like hers, one would expect Ruth Chandler Williamson Boswell Crocker to have multiple listings in *Who's Who*. She is, after all, a Chandler of the *Los Angeles Times* publishing family, and her husband, William Charles Crocker, has an English title. But Ruth C.W.B. Crocker shuns publicity. She is not listed in the registries of the rich and powerful. The reason may lie in her third last name: Boswell.

The Boswell is J.G. Boswell, her second husband. The late Mr. Boswell founded the J.G. Boswell Corporation, a firm that seems to prefer the same gentle anonymity that Ms. Crocker, its board chairperson, has sought.

The J.G. Boswell Corporation is the largest grower of cotton in the world. You know very little about it because as a privately owned corporation it is not required to list its operations, earnings, or board of directors. You *should* know, however, because your tax money has contributed some part of the \$23 million in Agricultural Stabilization subsidies (up to \$1000 an acre) paid to the company between 1966 and 1972 for *not* growing cotton.

Why are C.W.B. Crocker and her company paid so much to do so little? Why, to keep the world price of cotton high and fat. And why does the price tend to drop sometimes? Why, because cotton growers in other countries tend to grow too much. And who was paid a tax stimulus of \$837,000 by the Australian government to grow more cotton? You guessed it: the J.G. Boswell Corporation, the largest independent cotton producer Down Under, growing 17 percent of Australia's total.

Members of the Boswell board sit on the boards of Safeway, Southern Pacific, the Bank of America, and Tenneco, the largest landowner in California. Other connections are in the family. One of Ms. Crocker's nephews is the Boswell on the board of Caltech. Another is Otis Chandler, the publisher of the *L.A. Times* and *Newsday*. The tight interlock in agribusiness among retailer, producer, transporter and bank-roller tends to eliminate the family farmer and keep prices high in the supermarket at the same time.



Felix Rohatyn and Andre Meyer
"Sell New York"

In July of 1975, when New York City was going down the drain, Felix Rohatyn—general partner of the Lazard Freres investment banking firm and chairman of New York's new Municipal Assistance Corporation—proposed some belt-tightening. Not for the banks, whose shortselling of New York City bonds brought on the crisis, but for millions of recession-ridden New Yorkers.

Free tuition at City College should be the first thing to go, suggested Rohatyn. A wage freeze for city workers would be next, then more layoffs, service cuts, and a raise in transit fares. "An over-kill was required," explained Rohatyn at this July meeting, "if for no other reason than the shock impact."

No banker, least of all Rohatyn, suggested that any financial institution sacrifice—even one interest point. Or that the debt be stretched out over a 25-year period, or that wealthy landlords pay their back taxes, or that the sweetheart leases of the Lindsay years be called in, or that Consolidated Edison pay more to the city.

The result of Rohatyn's "over-kill," Jack Newfield and Paul DuBrul explain in *Abuse of Power: The Permanent Government and the Fall of New York*: Emergency-room deaths at Lincoln Hospital "for want of plasma, a nurse, an empty bed. Wood-frame houses burned to the ground because eight firehouses were closed." Twenty-eight day-care centers closed; so did 11 eye clinics treating 10,000 children.

"If you had to come up with a Rasputin for America," says DuBrul now, "it would be Rohatyn, the theoretician for Late Capitalism."

Rohatyn seemed to consult only one man: Andre Meyer, 79-year-old senior partner of Lazard Freres. In recent years, Rohatyn has popped through the gray gauze masking bankers' dealings. But Andre Meyer, his tutor, remains a cultured shadow, a very unpublic man.

Meyer has put together a fortune of over \$200 million for himself. He advises the Kennedys, and he runs an investment syndicate for a group of superwealthy families including the Rockefellers in America, the Pearsons in Britain, and the Boels in Belgium. Besides New York, Lazard has offices in London and Paris where Meyer was born. As transnational as his firm, Meyer is up by 5 a.m. placing his calls to Europe, holding the phone like a gun, and talking in French.

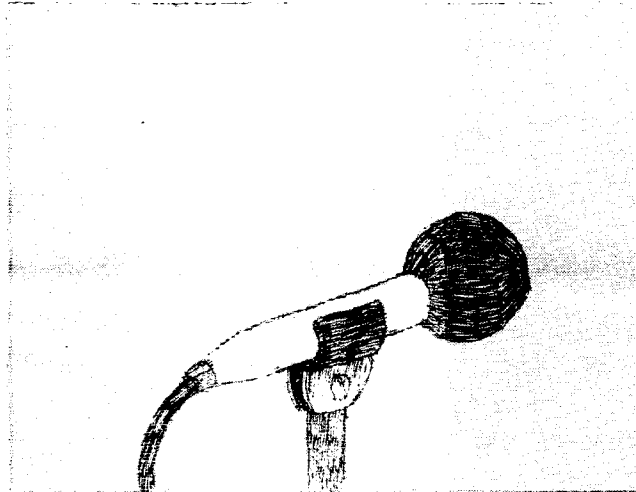
Rohatyn is an emigre too. Toothpaste tubes stuffed with gold coins, he fled Austria and France with his banking parents, one step ahead of the Nazis. Once in America he ended up as an apprentice at Lazard where Meyer virtually adopted him.

As an investment bank, Lazard is the powerful go-

DOORS

between linking corporations to finance capital. The company manages major underwritings, agents the private placement of securities, and advises corporations and wealthy individuals on their accounts. But the heart of the operation is in mergers, and it is here that Meyer and Rohatyn's special relationship guides the company. Before Rohatyn starts and finishes major deals, he calls Meyer. "I supervise," explains old Andre, "and Felix does the negotiating."

Meyer joined Douglas Aircraft to McDonnell (for a fee of \$1 million) and married Citroen to Fiat, of which he is a director. (Lazard's partners sit on the boards of over 60 corporations.) Rohatyn has engineered three dozen mergers, a quarter for IT&T, whose board he sits on. Rohatyn has the corporate honor, says DuBrul, recalling the role IT&T played in the CIA's sandbagging of the Allende regime, of "overthrowing the government of Chile as well as of New York."



Steven J. Ross

"Rock'n'Roll Is Here to Pay"

Who is the most powerful person in the world of rock music? Ahmet Ertegun, the tasteful head of Atlantic Records, recorder of Ray Charles, discoverer of Eric Clapton? Frank Barsalona, the superagent founder of Premier Talent? Maybe big Dave Handelman, the man who "racks" the top records into a thousand retail outlets, passing judgment on album covers and bands he doesn't like?

No, it's Steven J. Ross.

Steven J. Ross?

Yes. Mr. Ross, the merger shark who pasted together Warner Communications, an entertainment conglomerate of films, television, book publishing, and records that earned more than \$50 million in 1975 on earnings of \$670 million. Operating from an odd base of New York City funeral parlors and parking lots, he bought *Mad Magazine* in 1968, then the Ashley Famous Talent Agency, and finally the decrepit Warner Brothers film company, which had introduced talkies back in 1927.

"All we saw in Warner-Seven Arts were the record labels," says Ross now.

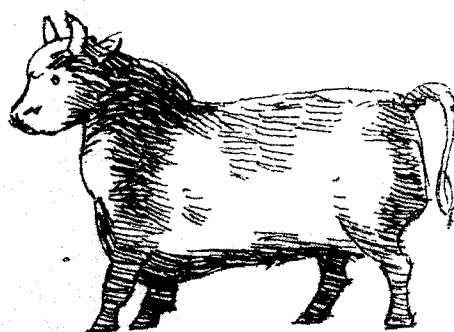
And flashy labels they were: Atlantic with Clapton and Led Zeppelin, and now the Stones. Warner-Reprise with Jimi Hendrix and later Fleetwood Mac. Soon they added the Electra-Asylum companies and picked up the Doors, Carly Simon and Joni Mitchell.

The film division made the turnaround with *The Exorcist* and *All the President's Men*, but records gross almost twice as much as films in this country.

Does it take a lot of capital to put together mergers on this scale? None at all, really. That is, as long as you already have it. Then you trade stock. If you sold me a house, you'd have to pay taxes on the profit. By trading Ross eliminates all that. And who negotiated the details for him? Felix Rohatyn of Lazard Freres.

At this point the record business is more monopolized than the oil industry. The top four music corporations account for some 53 percent of all records and tapes sold, with the top two, Warner and CBS, pulling down better than a third of retail sales by themselves. Concentration means that record company competition is

played out over "product" not prices. Consequently, the price of records always seems to jump by nice percentage points each year—much like the price of gas at Robert Anderson's ARCO pumps.



Robert Orville Anderson

"Yankee Cowboy"

In the early '70s, chains of independent cut-rate gas stations received wholesale gas from major oil companies and opened new, brightly decorated self-service outlets across the country.

The largest of these hustling chains was Autotronics, which expanded from 66 stations in 1969 to 550 in 1972. The expansion challenged the retail supremacy of the majors, and so in May 1973, the two providers of gas and oil to Autotronics—Gulf and ARCO—simply cut their supplies in half. Autotronics closed half its stations.

But your loss is ARCO's gain, and the largest single owner of stock in the company (\$70 million worth) is also its mellow chairman of the board, Robert O. Anderson. Besides eliminating many independent gas stations during his tenure, Mr. Anderson has quadrupled ARCO's sales by a series of mergers, profited mightily from the OPEC price rise, and then watched as the crowning gusher of well-researched, well-financed luck flowed in: the discovery by ARCO (Atlantic Richfield) of the fabulous North Slope of Alaska field.

Anderson shuffled a cool \$100,000 to Nixon in 1968 and sits as the National Republican Committeeman from New Mexico. His ties to the Nixon administration, cynics believe, did little to slow the administration's efforts to snuff environmental opposition to the Alaska Pipeline, which ARCO and British Petroleum built. As a director of the American Petroleum Institute, Robert Anderson is also a lobbyist in his own right.

The API is considered the spokesman for the major oil companies and has flexed its muscle a number of times recently, mostly to insure the oil import quota and the depletion allowance, two sanctified ripoffs which cost up to \$10 billion a year to all those who drive cars or heat their homes with oil.

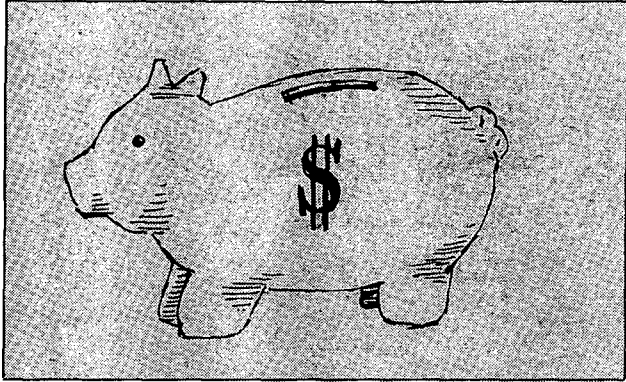
A cattle baron ensconced in a restored 19th century mansion in New Mexico, Anderson owns over a million acres of ranch land and the Lincoln County Livestock Company, which itself does a \$50 million annual business. In fact, Mr. Anderson is the largest individual landowner in the U.S. Each year he bounces over his estates in a jeep and even punches his own cows during an egalitarian splurge that lasts for seven 12-hour days. ("Strenuous work, but good for the soul," he says.)

Anderson's father was the vice-president of the First National Bank of Chicago who first allowed oil men to borrow on crude still in the ground. Anderson has been director of Chase Manhattan and of CBS, in addition to Atlantic Richfield. His crowd is as artsy and swank and continental as is possible in a country with no aristocracy: David Rockefeller, CBS founder William Paley, novelist Truman Capote, painters Peter Hurd and Henriette Wyeth. He is a trustee of the University of Chicago and Caltech, a member of nearly every gentlemen's club that really counts: Pacific-Union (San Francisco), California (Los Angeles), Century (New York), Metropolitan (Washington), and Chicago.

Continued on page 14.

Who are
America's
powerful people
and why don't
they want you
to know
their names?
A selected guide
to your
ruling class
by
Steve Chapple

POWER BROKERS



Walter Wriston

"A Fresh Dinosaur in the Swamp"

"Rockefeller has the best name in the country," says a leading Philadelphia banker, "but he's running a third-rate bank. Walter Wriston is beating the hell out of him."

In the Holy Trinity of New York banks—Chase, Morgan Guaranty, and Citibank (formerly First National City)—Citibank has pulled decisively in front of Chase, and Walter Wriston, the chairman of the board, is getting the credit on Wall Street.

What has put Citibank ahead is the international market, where bank profits are growing twice as fast as at home. Citibank has three foreign branches to every one of Chase's: 252 in 75 countries. And while David has been playing the statesman, Walter has been writing up the loans.

Citibank has 15 percent of its assets in foreign loans, more than any other U.S. bank. It is willing to take more risks in search of greater profit. (One place Citibank balked, however, was Chile. The bank, along with IT&T, Anaconda, and the Bank of America, helped to plan a program of economic destabilization that eventually—

with the ungloved input of the CIA and the State Department—toppled the socialist regime of Salvador Allende.)

Wriston backed Felix Rohatyn all the way in the demand for welfare cuts, transit hikes, and city worker wage slashes during the New York fiscal crisis. And he "has been known," says Jack Newfield and Paul DuBrul, "to become irrational in his fury against free higher education."

Wriston's independence is surprising, because, unlike David Rockefeller at Chase, his family does not own Citibank. In fact, financial control of the bank belongs to the Stillman-Rockefellers, descendants of John D. Rockefeller's brother William. (The brothers and the banks parted ways on a \$36 million scandal concerning the formation of Anaconda Copper so rank that even John D. himself could not stomach it.)

Walter Wriston is what the Russians call a high-paid servant of the bourgeoisie, or what John Kenneth Galbraith would label a "technocrat." Walter Wriston is simply an executive in transition. The grandson of a minister, son of a professional educator (who eventually became president of Brown University), Mr. Wriston has received over \$2 million in stock options during his tenure at Citibank. This is less a testament to upward mobility in the American ozone than an example of how the wealthiest corporate families assimilate the exceedingly shrewd.



John Jay McCloy

"The Grandfather"

If there could be a personification of the American ruling class it would have to be 83-year-old John J. McCloy. The beginnings, typical and correct: the Peddie School, Amherst and Harvard. Wall Street lawyer: first with Cadwalader, Wickersham & Taft; then Crav-

ath, de Gersdorff, Swaine & Wood; and finally senior partner Milbank, Tweed, Hadley, and McCloy. Assistant Secretary of War to Secretary Henry L. Stimson. High Commissioner for Germany, 1949-52.

Beginning in 1955, simultaneously the chairman of the Ford Foundation, the Council on Foreign Relations, and the Chase Manhattan Bank. Director of the Dreyfus Corporation (investments), Mercedes Benz of North America, Olinkraft, and Squibb pharmaceuticals. Sociable member of the right clubs (Century, Metropolitan) where the right men make the right decisions.

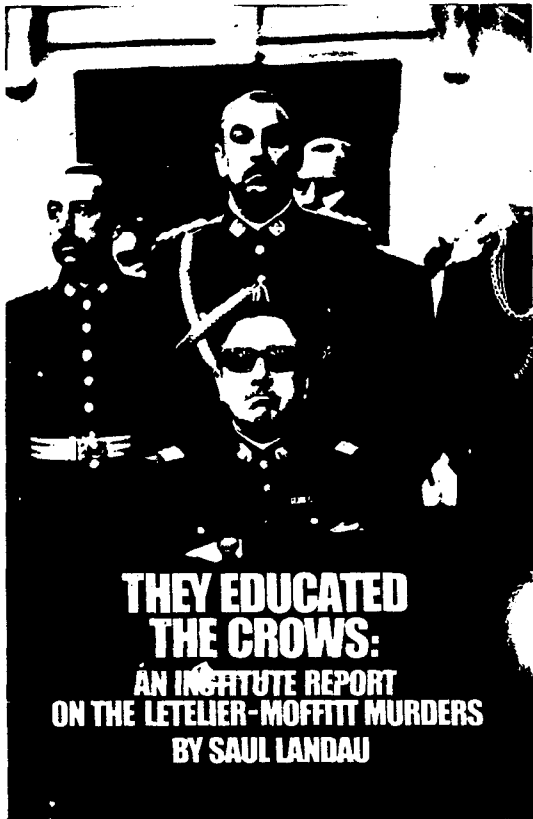
Never elected to a single public office, McCloy has determined or influenced almost every important foreign policy decision since World War II. As High Commissioner he granted an amnesty to Nazi industrialists, including Alfred Krupp, to rebuild a capitalist Europe and stave off radical social change. At the Council on Foreign Relations he helped to develop a decade overview of "correct" relations to the Soviet Union (the pat conclusion: "prevent at whatever cost the world-wide imposition of Soviet Communism."). When the Cuban Missile Crisis broke, one of young John Kennedy's first moves was to call McCloy for advice. He helped to form the Committee for an Effective and Durable Peace in Asia, which spread the hawk gospel in the early years of the Vietnam war.

Later, the Tet Offensive and increasing antiwar protests led him, as well as Cyrus Vance and others, to advocate deescalation, a reversal that shocked Lyndon Baines Johnson. To Johnson, one observer reported, the defection of men like McCloy and Vance carried significantly "more weight than something like the New Hampshire primary."

McCloy's base of operations has been his law firm. Even at 83 he remains in the picture. He has become the oil industry lawyer and represented all 20 major producers. He was point man in the maneuvering which left the major oil companies unscathed by the formation of OPEC. He delivered the little-known letter to Nixon "advising" that too much support for Israel would damage relations with "moderate" Arab oil producers, and eventually disrupt the even flow of oil to the U.S. And he successfully lobbied against liberal moves to stop artificial price rises and against disclosure of oil company ownership.

Mr. McCloy is a superlawyer, part of an elite fraternity of New York-Washington law firms that are in a class by themselves. These firms work as a brain with two long arms: one shaking hands inside the White House and the federal bureaucracy, the other slung around the Shoulders of Wall Street. It is a patrician system of well-perfumed grease and prep-school memories.

The Institute's Two-Year Investigation of the Assassinations of Orlando Letelier & Ronni Karpen Moffitt



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AN INSTITUTE REPORT
ON THE LETELIER-MOFFITT MURDERS
BY SAUL LANDAU

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EDITORIAL

Socialists and the Indo-China war

The Vietnamese invasion of Kampuchea (Cambodia), in alliance with an indigenous opposition movement, is not the first effort of one Communist regime to overthrow another. The Soviet government twice intervened militarily in eastern Europe to overthrow communist governments—in Hungary in 1956, and in Czechoslovakia in 1968.

At least two differences distinguish the Vietnamese intervention from the Soviet. First, the Soviets ousted regimes reputed to be seeking a "liberalizing" form of communism. In the present case, a relatively "liberal" communist regime, the Vietnamese, is engaged in overthrowing a xenophobic and brutally repressive communist government. The Vietnam-sponsored Kampuchean government has declared itself committed to restoring liberties, freedom of religion, and normal international relations.

The Soviet interventions elicited widespread protests by governments and political movements throughout the world—including socialist ones. But the Pol Pot government has few foreign defenders; its record of brute force and murderous coercion is so odious that even Vietnam's enemies hesitate to come to the aid of the Pol Pot regime. China itself appears to be washing its hands, at least for the time being.

Second, the configuration of world politics is now qualitatively different from that of the 1950s and 1960s. Then, the most salient international conflicts revolved around the confrontation between world capitalism and world communism, in spite of divisions within each camp. Now, with the growing number of professed socialist states and socialist-led national movements, and in spite of the continuing Soviet-U.S. rivalry, the most salient conflicts in world politics involve those among communists and socialists—for example, the Sino-Soviet antagonism, and (though not necessarily exclusively) the conflicts in southern Africa, Eritrea-Ethiopia, and most dramatically now in Indochina.

Socialist conflict.

World socialism has "come of age," not putting an end to international conflict, but adding its own kind (modernizers vs. agrarians, centralizers vs. decentralizers, nationalists vs. regionalists, authoritarians vs. democrats, market-socialists vs. command-socialists, etc.) to those of capitalist origins.

The capitalist governments and their policy makers are adjusting their understanding, and their strategies, to the realities of a new era in world politics. We socialists must begin adjusting ours, too, at the cost of cynicism, disillusionment, and just plain loss of credibility, if we don't.

No less than others, socialists can no longer assume that socialism automatically brings enduring peace. Nor can we escape the realities of conflict among socialist and socialist states by labeling the side we like as "truly" socialist and the side we dislike as "not really" socialist, or some other ghastly epithet like "fascist" or "reactionary." We have to face the realities—the bad and the good, the contradictions—of both socialism and capitalism, so that we may all the more forcefully oppose capitalism and the more honestly, and hence more effectively, improve upon and develop socialism—as a system of social relations, as a political theory, and as an ethic of values in the service of expanding human freedom.

Questions for socialists.

The issues in the Indochina war are still largely obscure, involving as they do great



Vietnamese last January exhibiting to press a Kampuchean soldier captured in border skirmish (see story, page 9).

power politics among the U.S., China, and the Soviet Union, and national hostilities among the Indochinese peoples and states. But the war should make it clear that socialists, and especially American socialists, need to exert fresh thinking on some fundamental questions, such as:

- How do we distinguish "socialist internationalism" from imperialism?

- When, if at all, is it right for socialists to advocate war?

- What are the criteria for relations between socialist states?

- What are the criteria for relations between socialist and capitalist states?

- By what standards—of human rights, civil liberties, social relations, and governmental forms—shall we judge socialist societies?

- What are the appropriate standards for socialists in capitalist states to apply in judging their respective governments' foreign policies?

Answers to such questions will be hard to come by. But it has been almost as hard to raise these questions among socialists (at least American socialists) for serious examination, and to impress upon ourselves the urgency of pursuing them in honest inquiry leading to historically valid answers, however tentative.

Socialists and the war.

At the present writing, with the little information available, it seems to us that Vietnam is without justification in its invasion of Kampuchea. This notwithstanding the fact that the Pol Pot regime's brutalities in subordinating human needs and values to a preconceived system of production, rather than organizing production to serve developing human needs, are odious to us, as to others, and are not consistent with our ideas of socialism.

None of the big powers have played an honorable role in current Indochina affairs. China and the Soviet Union have subordinated to their own rivalry and nationalist objectives attempts at reconciling Vietnamese and Kampuchean and at encouraging Kampuchean and Vietnamese opponents of the Pol Pot regime to achieve change without foreign intervention.

American policy bears equal, if not greater, responsibility for the tragic affairs in Indochina. Having waged a brutal and devastating war against revolution in Vietnam, Laos, and Kampuchea, the U.S. has refused to help these countries reconstruct (as it *did* help the much mightier Germany and Japan after World War II). Though the Carter administration has de-

nounced the Pol Pot government's anti-human rights record, it "tilted" toward Kampuchea against Vietnam from considerations of big power maneuvering vis-à-vis China and the Soviet Union.

That in turn strengthened Vietnamese "hawks" fearing Chinese encirclement. And withholding aid to and diplomatic relations with Vietnam strengthened those Vietnamese seeking a greater Indochina "federation" built on Mekong River development to put over a policy of force to bring the Kampucheans in.

American socialists, we believe, should not take the side of one against the other in the Vietnam-Kampuchea conflict. We should exert whatever influence we may have toward stopping the war, toward Vietnamese withdrawal from Kampuchea,

and toward a more democratic socialism in Indochina.

Above all, we should seek to influence American foreign policy toward speedy diplomatic relations with and generous aid to both Vietnam and Kampuchea, as well as Laos, and toward "de-linking" American Indochina policy from its China and Soviet policy.

That would be consistent with being helpful as socialists in the effort to replace national animosities with international friendship between two socialist states, and it would be consistent with acting, as American citizens, to actualize professed American objectives of promoting international peace and cooperation and respect for the right of each nation to self-determination. ■

Obituaries



Samuel F. Rubin

Samuel F. Rubin, president of the foundation by that name, former president and founder of Faberge perfumes, died in late December of cancer at age 77. "Sam" was a visionary who put his fortune to social use, for education, medicine and culture. Through the Samuel Rubin Foundation he supported hospitals and music schools for the poor in New York City and the Middle East. His foundation provided scholarships for Third World students and aid for progressive education. Music academies for Israeli Arabs and Jews, hospitals for the poor and institutes devoted to seeking alternatives to current social systems were created by Sam Rubin.

In September 1978 Rubin received,

along with the Rev. Ben Chavis of the Wilmington 10, the Letelier-Moffitt human rights award for his lifetime dedication to human rights and justice. Rubin is survived by his daughter, Cora Weiss, and his son, Reed.

David D. Comey

The environmental movement lost one of its most effective leaders last week when David Dinsmore Comey died in an auto accident in Wisconsin.

Comey, 44, served as environmental research director of Business and Professional People for the Public Interest in Chicago from 1970 until 1976 when he became head of Citizens for a Better Environment, the most significant environmental group in Chicago.

He was best known for his persistent attacks on the nuclear power industry, having been one of its earliest critics. In 1974, Comey received the U.S. Environmental Protection Agency's first annual Environmental Quality Award "for services that immeasurably improved the design and safety review of nuclear reactors."

Comey also served as a director of the Mid-American Solar Energy Center Corp., a federally funded organization promoting the commercial use of solar energy.

He is survived by his daughter, Sarah, his son, Sean, his stepmother, Mrs. Harold D. Comey, a sister and a brother. ■

LETTERS

HEAD & SHOULDERS

ENCLOSED ARE SUBSCRIPTIONS FOR 222 people. Several of us have been members of the Gray Panthers Task Force for the New Economic System for the past three years. We are always looking for materials to help people better to understand what is happening in our country. We have read and subscribed to a total of more than a dozen magazines, newspapers, newsletters, etc., that might help provide an ongoing flow of information relevant to the fight for a just and democratic system for all Americans.

IN THESE TIMES has undergone considerable scrutiny in the past year and has emerged head and shoulders above the alternatives as a cogent, reliable and well-written publication. You regularly publish material that doesn't appear anywhere else. Above all, one rarely finishes an issue without coming away with ideas and insights that help in our day-to-day work.

May you flourish.

—Glen Gersmehl
New York

TELL US WHAT WE'D LIKE TO HEAR

AS A SOCIALIST AND STRONG SUPPORTER/promoter of IN THESE TIMES, I've been increasingly disappointed in the paper's apparent preoccupation with Democratic Party politics over the last few months, especially the next presidential race. When a reader suggested a Ron Dellums candidacy in order to raise important issues, that was o.k. Now we hear about Harrington's plans to run as a closet socialist in selected primaries. Of course we all know, and are told, that only a corporate liberal like Ted Kennedy could actually win from the "left" wing of the Democratic Party. What next? Will IN THESE TIMES support Kennedy along with *The New Republic* and the *New York Times*? If Kennedy runs and wins, will some "socialists" get positions in the "New Dealership"?

Hey, we've got enough centerfielders running around. Come on back to left field; there's still plenty of action here!

—Daniel Graham
Carrboro, N.C.

OUTRAGED

I AM OUTRAGED THAT YOUR ROCK REVIEWER, Bruce Dancis, has included the album *Some Girls* by the Rolling Stones in his Ten Best of the Year List (ITT, Jan. 3). I am not well acquainted with the entire album, but the lyrics in the title song are bad enough to make me question its inclusion in this list: "White girls are pretty funny, sometimes they drive me mad. Black girls just want to get fucked all night, I just don't have that much jam." Such lyrics do more than just "flirt with decadence and sexism"; they promote degrading stereotyped images of women.

According to a report in the December 1978 issue of *Off Our Backs*, a group of enraged black women has written the president of Atlantic Records, Ahmet Ertegun, to protest the "underscored racist innuendo" of the song and to threaten the initiation of a black boycott of Atlantic records: "We want to show these creeps that we cannot be insulted, that black people will not roll over and play dead so that a few creeps at the top of some corporate ladder can rake in their ill-gotten profits." Inclusion of *Some Girls* in your Ten Best list constitutes an endorsement of considerable commercial value to any rock group and its record company.

In addition, as a feminist, I must protest your reviewer's continuing attention

to "New Wave," a genre not noted for its progressive attitude toward women. I sometimes hear this kind of music excused: "Hey, that's just rock'n'roll." That's just the problem: Rock'n'roll is one of the most misogynistic influences in popular culture.

For more information on a consumer boycott of Warner Communications, Inc., owner of Atlantic Records, write Women Against Violence Against Women, 1727 N. Spring St., Los Angeles, CA 90012.

—Deborah Elkins
Toledo, O.

OFF THE RECORD!

I ALWAYS LOOK FORWARD TO GETTING ITT in the mail and have often enjoyed your record reviews in the past. But after the last issue's "Ten Best" by Bruce Dancis, I've had it!

Listing a record in the top ten says to me that you like it and that it's certainly worth listening to, even buying. But saying that Mick Jagger "flirts with decadence and sexism" should be enough reason to can the album—that is, not play it, not list it as one of the ten best, and not encourage others to buy it. (I've had it with trying to tune in music while tuning out sexist lyrics.)

You should be discouraging people from supporting record companies and artists who capitalize on offensive and sexist lyrics. In case you are unaware of it, Women Against Violence Against Women has called a national boycott against Warner/Elektra/Atlantic labels for their use of violence against women on album covers (depicted as "sexy") to sell records. They believe that media violence "encourages us to accept violence on the street and in the home."

You could better use your space to discuss such issues than to give implicit support to the continuation of the mental and physical violence done to women through cock rock. Not one of your ten best was by women, let alone feminists.

How about bringing your record reviews up to par with the high standards of the rest of your paper?

—Catherine Avril
Somerville, Mass.

THE POWER OF SONG

IF CHALMERS STEWART WAS HALF AS bright as he pretends to be he would not have written that letter criticizing ITT for covering rock music and sports (ITT, Dec. 20). He would have gotten on to the fact that both sports and music have a deeper appeal to human beings than socialism—else they would not be so popular and profitable. Certainly there's plenty to be found in both those fields that is ugly, mediocre, or exploitative—it's all part of the society, after all. But for that very reason, at least, any newspaper that aims for popular appeal has got to deal with music and sports.

Let me say one thing more—I was at the P.B.C. celebrations at Concord, Mass., in April 1975, that lasted two days and when we marched out of town at the end of it, half the townspeople marched with us, including the local Boy Scouts. They did this, not so much because of our speeches and literature, but because we came in singing, left singing, and hardly stopped at all in between.

Let Chalmers Stewart think on that for awhile.

—D. Alan Curry

AS THE OLD MAN SAID

YOUR COVERAGE OF JONESTOWN and the Peoples Temple (ITT, Dec. 6, 13, 20, 1978) shines with integrity. While some on the left refuse to under-

stand that self-declared socialists are human beings capable of monstrous conduct, David Moberg's reports and your editorial radiate moral intelligence. You've helped us understand the motives of Temple members without apologizing for the totalitarian process. You've earned the right to urge us toward the enormous project of working *all at once* against racism, for democracy, and for the nourishment of the human spirit.

It has become all too fashionable on the left to disdain a "merely" moral politics in favor of the latest rage in class analysis—as if analysis ever vitiates the need for judgment. It had also become too fashionable to claim the justice of any tyrannical tactic as long as it could be credited to sufficiently desperate people. Desperation is real, but so is the responsibility of those who would work toward a world in which, as a certain 19th-century philosopher once put it, "the free development of each is the condition for the free development of all." Thank you for disowning nihilism, without compromise.

—Todd Gitlin
San Francisco

KEEP ON SMILING

THE COGENCY OF YOUR EDITORIAL analysis of the Chinese market that capitalist financiers envision was illustrated aptly in the cartoon accompanying the editorial. The irony in the cartoon cuts two ways. Purchasing Mao's analysis of anti-capitalism on consumer credit cards might suggest that critiques of capitalism are quaint and ineffective in comparison to the sophisticated and elaborate adaptability of capitalist control of markets and development. Yet from a different perspective, what appears is that those credit lines are abet-

ting the propagation of thoughts that run counter to private profit maximization.

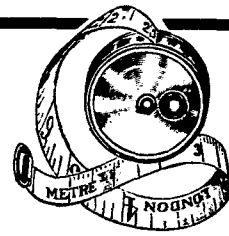
The same point is made in your editorial: that to see in Chinese markets the answer to the economic troubles of American capitalism is to forsake the long look for the short.

I am reminded of ITT's own adaptive use of the dialectics of credit. This holiday season I sent a number of "thoughtful gifts for the thoughtful people in my life" by means of my VISA card. That Chase Manhattan's bankers helped me send sets of *Class Struggle* and ITT subs to friends keeps me smiling.

—Gary Mitchell
New Brunswick, N.J.

CORRECTION:

In Nancy Lieber's article, "European Socialists divide on aims" (ITT, Dec. 13, 1978), two errors occurred. The text should read: "The French Socialists deliberately chose Lille...in order to play up their nevertheless very real convergences" (not *those differences*); and "...the EEC must move to community-wide democratic planning" (not *commodity-wide*).



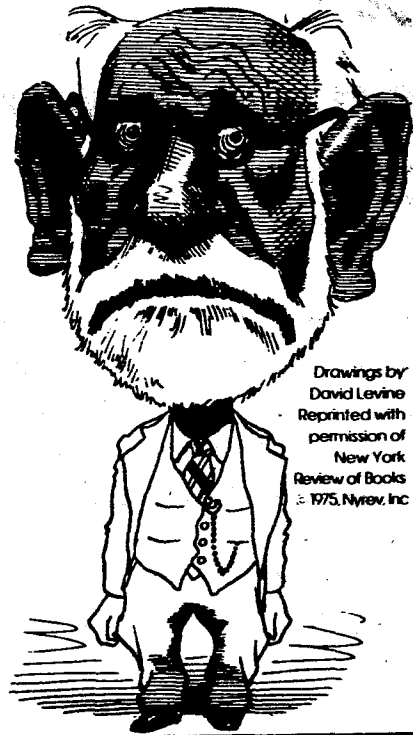
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WILLIAM M. KUNSTLER

Right to fair trial and due process of law on trial in Farber case

LIKE SO MANY OTHER LEGAL CONTROVERSIES, THE CASE of Myron Farber is characterized by a host of sloganized misconceptions. Spirited phrases like "reporter's privilege," "confidentiality of news sources" and even "freedom of the press" are bandied about with such reckless abandon that the real issue—the fundamental right of a criminal defendant to receive a fair trial—is almost wholly lost from view. Since the chief offenders are those whose self-interest is most deeply involved, namely, the news media, it is high time that the reverse side of the coin—"due process of law"—be given a modicum of attention.

We must start with the basic premise that an accused person is entitled to all exculpatory evidence in the hands of the police or the prosecution. This principle, proclaimed by the Supreme Court some 15 years ago, is now firmly engrained in the constitutional rubric. As a California federal appellate court recently put it, "The government is obliged to disclose pertinent material evidence favorable to the defense, and this applies not only to matters of substance, but to matters

relating to the credibility of government witnesses."

In any logical sense, there can be no arguable differences in result if such evidence is controlled, not by the authorities, but by one who, for all practical purposes, is actively allied with them. It is my understanding that not only did the prosecutor cooperate fully with Mr. Farber during the latter's investigation which led to the re-opening of the Jascavech case and the physician's eventual indictment for a number of alleged curare-induced murders, but, in the early stages,

even furnished him with a desk in his office. If this close collaboration indeed existed, then the reporter can no longer claim to be merely an impartial news gatherer but has instead become an arm of the prosecution.

Under such circumstances, he has clearly lost the so-called "reporter's privilege," if, in reality, one ever existed, and should, both legally and morally, have permitted the trial judge to inspect his notes *in camera* in order to ascertain whether or not they contained any exonerative material.

Such a procedure has been universally used in cases where potential evidence far more vital in a collective sense than the Farber notes was in issue, and is the standard method for balancing the sometimes competing equities of a defendant's right to all available favorable evidence and the expressed need for confidentiality on the part of the private or public possessors of such information. Farber's refusal to submit his notes for such limited judicial inspection more than justified his contempt adjudication.

I can usually be counted upon to be in the forefront of those protesting any real threat to First Amendment freedoms. But it is sheer—and somewhat dangerous—sophistry to utilize untenable constitutional claims to frustrate the legitimate right of Dr. Jascavech, or any other criminal defendant, to have potentially exculpatory evidence in the hands of one actively associated with the prosecution at least scrutinized by a judge.

The so-called analogies thrown out rather frantically by the press to buttress the Farber position are inapposite, to put it mildly. We are not here dealing with news sources of official corruption or the like, but, instead, with the ability of a de-

fendant charged with serious crimes to defend himself adequately. It would surely have been a horrendous outrage if Dr. Jascavech had been convicted when there was evidence tending to establish his innocence in the possession of a prosecutorial adjunct. If anyone—district attorney, police officer and, yes, news reporter—has such evidence, then it would be the height of injustice to immunize it from minimal judicial scrutiny.

Moreover, it is dirty pool to suggest, as one prominent newspaper recently did, that submitting Farber's notes to such an inspection would be tantamount to a forced disclosure of his news sources. Under situations relatively similar to that present in the Jascavech case, judges have examined classified national security material in order to determine whether any of it should be turned over to defense counsel. Indeed, under our legal system, there is often no way to avoid such highly limited disclosure, if that is even the appropriate word.

In any conflict between competing social values, the balance must always be struck, if there is merit at all to our insistence that we are an ethical civilization, on the side of human freedom. Otherwise, we are in grave danger of allowing the inspirational catchword to obscure, and even defeat, what should be the bedrock moral imperative of any national community—the preservation of individual liberty. Certainly, no private interest, no matter how cloaked in inapplicable constitutional rhetoric, can be permitted to jeopardize that concept.

William M. Kunstler, the prominent civil rights and civil liberties lawyer, is Volunteer Staff Attorney of the Center for Constitutional Rights.

RICHARD ELMAN

When tyrants play on your sympathies, keep your powder dry

THE CRIMES OF SOMOZA OF NICARAGUA AND OF THE Shah of Iran have been fairly well-publicized: mass murder, torture, the denial of fundamental human rights to large numbers of the people they rule, exploiting others to enrich themselves. Their evils unfold through the scrolls of their days, yet many are increasingly seen by our western press as well-intentioned. "They don't really mean to be so mean, we're told; it just simply can't be helped. In a day or a week they may have destroyed more lives than the Reverend Jim

Jones could do in Guyana (1500 dead in Tehran; 3000 the week of Sept. 9 in Nicaragua); but nobody depicts them as "monsters." When the Shah kills it is out of a feeling of frustrated benevolence. Somoza is more of a realist; by destroying so many of his fellow citizens he is really upholding the rights of others, such as himself, his family, and friends.

Both, we've been told, would like to be much nicer guys, but those opposed to them just won't permit it. Though they are paranoids, their perceptions are not entirely delusory. The opposition is increasingly noisy, and they have been granted a certain legitimacy as heads of state that we deny to those of less austere authority, such as motel managers. Though they rule absolutely, controlling vast resources, and often using indiscriminate force, they are seen to be, in a manner of speaking, moderates.

We read that the Shah's efforts to "modernize" Iran have been the cause of the current agitation, not his decades of tyranny; and in the case of Somoza we can listen to him declare with a relatively straight face to Dan Rather over the CBS program *60 Minutes* that he, too, is very upset about the poverty of the Nicaraguan people, and the only way to alter all those "sad faces" is to enrich himself even more.

The Shah usually presents himself as

sober, ruminative, and contrite, after one of his bloodbaths.

Somoza, who is considerably less of a hypocrite, is also, in the current parlance, more in touch with his rage. He kills to destroy his enemies, the Communists and naive do-gooders; people are really stupid; they only respond to force. Besides, he happens to have a rather bad temper.

When scoundrels pose as reasonable men it's a crime equally obscene as Jim Jones pretending to be God. The media would prefer us to remain gullible, partly, I suspect, because they believe they would behave the same way if they had so many privileges, and so much power.

Indeed, knowing how very much Somoza and the Shah have to lose should they be deposed, it's not so surprising that they should resort to the sort of pious statements that would make the Duke and the Dauphin in *Huck Finn* blush for shame.

As some battered children are said to love and revere their parents, so—it seems—do we extend ourselves a little toward these despots; and they then come up with credible imitations of human traits. Somoza's air force strafes journalists covering his troops in action, but at cocktail parties in his private house in Managua he likes to hug and kiss the women correspondents, is often avuncular, and said to be "charming."

Similarly, the Shah's summer residence outside Tehran is shown in *Life* magazine to be no more elaborate than that of any well-paid publishing executive in the Hamptons: on muggy summer days they eat pot roast on the open porch, and the troops wear cabana sets.

Such modest self-effacing men these tyrants present themselves as being that we often forget how compliant they are in ruling absolutely, and consigning one to death, or that one to torture.

A corpse once paid a visit to Tacho Somoza and woke him from his sleep.

"I need my sleep," said the Dictator, "and you are disturbing me..."

"It couldn't be helped," said the corpse.

Somoza said: "What do you want? I'm not in very good health, you know..."

"To get to know you a little better," said the corpse, "because we'll soon be seeing quite a lot of each other..."

"Thank you," said Somoza, "but I am definitely not interested in dying right away. Thanks anyway..."

"Neither was I," said the corpse.

"Don't get fresh with me," Somoza said. "Your case I'm familiar with. It was regrettable, but it couldn't be helped."

"Likewise," said the corpse.

The tyrant looked at this rotting effigy of his former enemy in his stinking grave clothes and began to weep.

His tears were very bitter to his tongue. He tasted his own gall. "You know," he said at last, "the things you remind me of I would really rather forget..."

"That's perfectly understandable," said the corpse, "so would we all..."

The tyrant was now so vexed, he said, "When you talk like that I feel I want to hurt you all over again..."

"That goes without saying," said the corpse. "Now it's my turn..."

In Nicaragua, where I was told this story, they said the moral was when your enemy asks for your sympathy and understanding he may be getting ready to do you an even greater injury.

Richard Elman, novelist, poet, critic, spent three weeks in Nicaragua last September on assignment for GEO magazine.

praxis four

A Journal of Radical Perspectives on the Arts

Robert Sayre, 'Goldmann and Modern Realism: Introduction to the *Balcony* Article'

Lucien Goldmann, 'Genet's *The Balcony*: A Realist Play'

Stefan Morawski, 'Historicism and the Philosophy of Art'

Alan W. Barnett, 'José Hernández Delgado: The New Art of the Mexican Revolution'

Marc Zimmerman, 'Exchange and Production: Structuralist and Marxist Approaches to Literary Theory'

Ariel Dorfman, 'The Invisible Chile: Three Years of Cultural Resistance'

Marc Ferro, 'La grande illusion: Its Divergent Reception in Europe'

Andrew Turner, 'Ballads Moribundus' (28 drawings)

William Hartley, 'Lambros: A Vision of Hell in the Third World'

James Goodwin, 'The Object(ive)s of Cinema: Vertov (Factography) and Eisenstein (Ideography)'

Plus notes and discussion by Leonard Henny, Marc Zimmerman, Edward Baker and Bram Dijkstra; short reviews by Lee Baxandall, Jonah Raskin, Frank Galassi and David Peck; poetry by Yannis Ritsos, Ernesto Cardenal, Denise Levertov, Thomas McGrath, Tanure Ojaide, Peter Klappert, Ricardo Alonso, Margaret Randall, Teresa de Jesus, Vicente Gómez Kemp, Don Gordon, Walter Lowenfels, Harryette Mullen, James Scully, Ricardo Morales, Mary Lou Reker, E. Ethelbert Miller and Susan Anderson; drawings by René Castro.

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GACY

Continued from page 3.

Gacy, now charged with seven counts of murder and several related counts of sexual assault or kidnapping, has pleaded innocent of the charges. The state's attorney has indicated that he will probably seek the newly enacted death penalty.

Many people have undoubtedly tried to explain Gacy's alleged behavior as linked to homosexuality (see box), ignoring the even more frequent instances of Jack-the-Ripper murders accompanied by heterosexual acts.

Others clearly share the final conclusions of Carpenter's *Halloween*—that there is Evil loose in the world, a Devil at work. Contrary to all the claims of "human potential" movement psychologists, who see humankind in a Rousseauian fashion as fundamentally good, these people find reaffirmed in a case like this a much more deeply ingrained popular psychology that sees human nature as potentially evil and dangerous unless properly controlled. Some people, so this appealing vision goes, are simply bad, no further comment needed.

No solid explanations.

Unfortunately the psychologists and psychiatrists who have studied these difficult cases do not have conclusive alternative explanations. Perhaps that is one reason why the Richard Specks and Charlie Stark-weather become folklore villains who stick in the popular memory like the Lizzy Bordens of song and tale, since they are so difficult to assimilate to some general pattern.

However, Dr. Shervert H. Frazier, psychiatrist-in-chief at McLean Hospital in Belmont, Mass., and professor of psychiatry at Harvard, may be as close to an expert on the phenomenon as exists after spending many years studying mass murderers.

There are many distinct types of murderous violence and different psychic roads to each of them, Frazier makes clear from the start. For example, he distinguishes multiple murders—such as the long skein of separate acts with which John Gacy is charged—from mass murders—such as Charles Whitman going to the tower of the University of Texas and gunning down people at random.

The multiple murderer, Frazier says, is nine times more likely to be a man than a woman, although some women have been guilty of murdering more than one per-

son, including the notorious Bella Sorensen Gunness, a LaPorte, Ind., farmer who may have killed 28 people in the first decade of this century, mainly men who had come to call on her.

The multiple murderer is likely to have a history of being a loner, not playing team games, having poor friendship patterns and few long-lasting friends, Frazier says. He is also likely to have a poor sense of masculine identity and suffer from "gender confusion." Gender confusion, which can occur among heterosexuals or homosexuals, means "you don't feel comfortable and adequate with the sex nature has given you," Frazier said. "You don't know what to do with the equipment you have or know whether it's o.k. or approved by other people."

Murderers lacked father.

Typically, he says, the multiple murderers have lacked a father or other male adult figure who could teach the boy "how to socialize aggression—when do you fight, when do you retreat, when do you fight gentlemanly, when do you fight viciously." Gacy's father, who died in the late '60s, was "rather rough on him," his first wife told the *Chicago Tribune*. "His dad was not a very pleasant person."

Also, "those that cross the personal assault line early—having been hit, abused or battered themselves—or have observed it, are more likely to employ violence," Frazier says. However, Marvin Wolfgang, professor of sociology and law at the University of Pennsylvania, maintains that children who grow up in subcultures where there is much violence are more likely to be conventionally homicidal and not the mass or multiple murderer.

Yet Frazier maintains that multiple murderers come from all social classes, even the very rich. "I've seen them from the upper classes, too," he says. "They just don't go to prison. They usually leave the country. The wealthy ones just travel around."

Frazier maintains that many multiple murderers could pass any of the standard psychological tests and in that sense would not be classified as "sick." They can perform well in society, as Gacy did.

"Collectors of injustice."

Yet these men are what Frazier calls "collectors of injustices" or "obsessional get-even people." Unlike the mass murderer, who "tends to have a breaking point beyond which he is unable to control himself and has a group of people he wants to wipe out," the multiple murderer is more organized and more likely to have a hit list. The list is usually of relatives, neighbors or other acquaintances who he sees as having wronged him, especially by

casting aspersions on his sexual identity.

"Life has cornered them in a position," Frazier explains. "Things have got to a point of no return: 'I really have to strike out to maintain my survival.' They feel cornered. In the interludes they make plans, scout for victims, cover trails. The same hunger, starvation, motivation persists. They don't seem satiated by what has happened. They also don't tend to show remorse or to blame the victim. For them murder is a process, not an event."

"Some of them are not paranoid. They're just obsessional get-even people. They rationalize what they do beautifully. There are overt paranoids who want to blame others and project their unacceptable impulses on others. They say it's the other person who feels that way about me, so I have to get rid of them because they have those thoughts about me." But then there are other people who have real enemies, and have been threatened, and their fears are not entirely ungrounded, even if their response is unacceptable.

Nobody can say with any certainty what John Gacy thought or even did, but the information available does suggest that he was fearful of his homosexual impulses and acts, that he may have projected his desires on others (seeing them as seducers) and that he may have acted out his repulsion toward his sexuality through violence against others. In addition, his experience with retaliation by young men and his term in prison, gave a basis for real fears of punishment. Since he apparently focused on men in their late teens, perhaps there was a traumatic experience at that time when his sexual identity was threatened.

Violence is eroticized.

Most multiple murderers do not directly involve sex, Frazier says, but it is the combination of sex with violence that makes cases such as Gacy's so disturbing to many. There are a number of possible connections. One is that murder is a way of eliminating the evidence of a sex act. But for others sexuality and violence become "fused," and violence is then eroticized. In many cases, the sex may be only a vehicle or expression of other sentiments.

"There's a great deal that can occur in a superficially sexual contact that has little to do with sex," Alan P. Bell, senior research psychologist at the Institute for Sex Research, says. "The interests and motivations may be clothed in sexuality. In our society, many males equate their penis with a gun and what they do with it is more an act of defilement, anger and hostility than an act of love. It is part and parcel of a society in which sexual impulses are often thought of as dirty. Many peo-

ple have great difficulty integrating sex and affection in such circumstances."

Pauline Bart, a University of Illinois sociologist studying rape, thinks that the issue in a case such as Gacy's might be more the sense of unrestricted sexual "entitlement" and search for power that are part of our society's male role than anything to do with sexuality. "Mass murder has to do with men and male gender role," she argues, "not sexual orientation." Frazier adds, "I don't think it's just the power issue but feeling of deep-seated hatred and that turning into erotic feelings—the eroticization of hatred. It's easier to make things sexual in America than to face hate."

Although multiple-murderers are far from common, Frazier maintains that "there's a whole crowd who are not even caught! That's scary to me. They usually have a plan. They have certain people on that list. They organize it very carefully. They may be out of touch with reality but not with regard to details. They're cagey about how they do it, where they do it. The reason I know that is that there are whole groups of men who killed lots of people until they got caught, which means that they got away with it until then."

Is there a trend?

Is it becoming worse—another crisis of capitalism, perhaps? Frazier doesn't think there is enough evidence to spot any trend, and multiple murders seem to have occurred throughout the world and history, although more are known from western societies and in the past century.

Even if there are no clear signs of an increase, Frazier and others argue that certain cultural patterns in the U.S. contribute to the creation of multiple murderers. "There's the mobility of the culture, the number of unemployed, the lack of family businesses, the new moratorium on continuous schooling and years of idleness that give an opportunity for exploratory behavior, which isn't all bad, but it makes people more available to be taken advantage of," Frazier says. Certainly it is harder to imagine deaths or disappearances of 32 young men escaping attention in a more closely-knit social unit.

Runaways—and throwaways—from troubled families who have no alternative supportive institution to turn to obviously are easier victims for a potential multiple murderer, just as society is less likely to notice the disappearance of prostitutes in many cases, derelicts in the case of the Los Angeles "Slasher," and migrant workers in the case of Juan Corona. In that sense, young homosexuals are also easily victimized.

Sexual repression, homophobia, aggressive male gender roles and other sexual characteristics of our culture obviously play an important role in creating the anxieties that multiple murderers try to resolve in their grisly manner.

Then there is the issue of American violence. "American society has been violent from the beginning," Singer says. "It was a frontier society, and now the frontier is closed. The violence shows up in other ways." Frazier laments not only the violence that afflicts youngsters in certain families, communities or gangs, but also the pervasive violence of television. That violence is dramatically bad and hence more meaningless and amoral, argues psychologist Erica Rosenfeld, who studied TV violence and kids.

"Look at the TV series of recent years," Frazier says. "Young people see 18,000 slayings by the time they graduate from high school. How we affect our children is affecting the society of our next generation. We're setting ourselves up and it's coming down the road. And then we'll be wondering—how come so many so fast?"

The elements are there in the spectacle of *Halloween*—guilt-ridden sexuality, violence as a personal solution, a fear that barely contained beneath the surface of social convention lie dangerous and threatening forces. They appear to reassert themselves in the real-life drama of John Gacy.

Even if we can never expect such disturbing behavior to disappear, whatever the society we live in, we can confront some of these frailties of our culture and thereby gain something from our fascination with abomination.

—Our Southern African Correspondent

SOWETO EDUCATION

Continued from page 11.

laughed. "It was illegal, so we used to work in teams to keep a look-out for the police. But they caught me a couple of times, and I had to pay a 10 Rand fine."

The educational content in the schools was controlled directly by the government. Teachers were required to follow a common syllabus, and students were tested on the material in annual examinations. "In history, the syllabus would have that old lie that the black man and the white man arrived in South Africa at the same time," Nzima said. "Many teachers would tell you what really happened, but at exam time you had to write what the syllabus directed."

Language of the oppressor.

The three spoke fondly of their teachers, all of whom—by law—were black. "A large percentage would tell us the truth," Pityana said. "But they had to be careful, because the parents of some of the students could be police or informers. So sometimes they would select students and hold study groups after school."

In 1975, signs of unrest began to appear. Blacks celebrated revolutionary

victories in Angola and Mozambique privately, after public rallies were banned by the government. Street gangs called FRELIMO and MPLA appeared, and young people nicknamed themselves "Machel."

A branch of the Black Consciousness Movement for secondary students, called the South African Students Movement (SASM) appeared in Soweto. And the government announced it was going to phase in the use of Afrikaans in the schools as an instructional medium. (It had previously been taught as an additional language for one period a day.)

Mdlaka explained how the students viewed Afrikaans. "It is the language of the oppressor. It is only spoken here in South Africa, unlike English, so it cuts you off from the rest of the world."

He added cynically, "Afrikaans is a very hard language. Many students would have had to leave school because it is so difficult. I think they wanted to force more of us out of school."

Students formed an "Action Committee," consisting of representatives elected by each high school, which drew up plans for the first protest march. After the shooting started, the group reformed as the now-famous Soweto Students Representative Council (SSRC), which for a time acted as a shadow government in the township.

SSRC kept in touch with Soweto's 36,000 high school students through frequent meetings and the black press. Its leaders, although constantly on the run

from the security police, coordinated many demonstrations, carried out three successful "stay-away" campaigns that brought Johannesburg's economy to temporary halts, and forced the resignation of members of the Urban Bantu Council, the government's puppet organization.

Although the SSRC itself never endorsed violence, groups of students, joined by some adults, burned liquor halls and other buildings owned by the government. As the unrest continued, police patrols became even less hesitant to open fire. Nzima said, "At one stage, they were shooting at everyone who had school uniforms on."

For many students, the situation became impossible. Pityana, for instance, was part of a group smuggling in banned political literature from a neighboring country. "The police picked up one of us, so I started sleeping in a different place every night. But they kept coming to my parents' house, so I decided to leave. Later, I read in the papers that the guy they picked up got ten years in prison."

Two years after the uprising began, the Soweto high school population had dropped 60 percent—from 34,656 to 14,379. Many had escaped; others were in schools in the homelands, or still in the township. Few waited around to enjoy the mild educational reforms their upheaval had forced the government to grant.

LIFE IN THE U.S.

MEDIA AND SPORTS

Runner's World: it's not in business for your health

By Bruce Dancis

RUNNER'S WORLD MAGAZINE is the flagship for a publishing and merchandising empire that has successfully encouraged and profited from the enormous current interest in running and jogging. Recent charges about conflicts of interest and other unethical practices demonstrate the relationship between sport, advertising, and journalism.

An estimated 20 million Americans now run regularly. And they are spending increasingly huge amounts of money on shoes, lightweight shirts, pants, and sweat suits, stopwatches and chronographs, "how to" books and magazines. Catering to these needs is Bob Anderson's Mountain View, California-based World Publications, publisher of *Runner's World*.

Founded in 1966 by Anderson, *Runner's World* now boasts a monthly circulation of around 300,000. World Publications also puts out books, two additional running-oriented periodicals (the quarterly *Marathoner* and the bi-weekly *On the Run*), and assorted magazines for other sports (*Nordic World*, *Soccer World*, *Bike World*). Anderson's businesses also include a mail order sporting goods store (Starting Line Sports) and a powdered drink mix for distance runners (Body Punch). The *San Francisco Chronicle* estimates that Anderson's companies gross \$11 million a year.

Serious complaints have been made about *Runner's World's* annual ratings of running shoes. Until this year, the magazine used a "panel of experts" and a biomechanics laboratory to test and numerically rank the hundreds of shoes on the market. Because of the circulation and influence of *Runner's World*, high rankings proved to be very important for shoe manufacturers. San Francisco's *City Sports* estimated that a Number One ranking in 1976 for New Balance's model 320 was worth more than \$4 million in additional sales for the company.

A number of magazines—most notably *City Sports* and *Runner's Gazette*—have challenged *Runner's World's* methodology. *City Sports* reported that Pony, a large sports shoe manufacturer, intentionally submitted two differently-named shoes that were actually identical except for their color. The *Runner's World* lab gave them widely disparate ratings. In addition, the results from the lab and the panel differed greatly, suggesting that something was amiss.

The panel's objectivity has also been criticized. *Runner's World* noted that six out of ten panel members worked either for *Runner's World*, Starting Line Sports, or were consultants to shoe companies. Although panelists were forbidden to rate shoes made by firms with whom they were associated, the fairness with which they could evaluate shoes made by competitors is open to question.

This year, *Runner's World* changed its rating format, substituting a star system—five stars is best, one star for a shoe "better left in the box." The magazine never responded in print to the charges made earlier, but said only that rankings proved to be "impossible and impractical." They got rid of the panel of experts, but didn't answer complaints about the ratings.

The most serious charges about *Runner's World's* ratings concerned the maga-

Shoe ratings make millions in profits.

zine's relationship to the Brooks Shoe Company. Brooks is one of the heaviest advertisers in *Runner's World* and other World Publications periodicals, and its shoes have repeatedly been given high ratings in *Runner's World*. In 1977 this small company placed five different models in *Runner's World's* top 20 training flats, including the Number One rated shoe. In this year's survey, Brooks had two of the eight five-star men's shoes and two of the four five-star women's shoes.

On the inside track.

The problem is not only that one of the biggest advertisers received the highest ratings. Troubling questions remain about the role of Starting Line Sports in this regard.

Started in 1969, this Mountain View mail-order store is a private corporation, wholly owned by Bob Anderson and his wife. Anderson told me that he considers it "a service to runners," particularly those in small towns. In the most recent issue of *Runner's World*, Starting Line Sports had six full pages of advertisements.

Because of *Runner's World's* influence on the consumer tastes of runners looking for the latest innovations in shoe gear, after the magazine rated the Brooks Vantage the Number One shoe in last year's survey the model was sought eagerly throughout the country. According to *City Sports'* Jacob Steinman, to the dismay of shoe retailers in Northern California who attempted to meet the demand for the Vantage that arose after the ratings came out, the shoe was unavailable for several months after the *Runner's World* rankings were published.

Unavailable, that is, except at one store—Starting Line Sports. Starting Line Sports was able to obtain *Runner's World's* top-rated shoe in advance of other stores. Of course, Starting Line Sports was in a position to know which shoe would be ranked Number One before the results were published in *Runner's World*, an advantage obviously not shared by its competitors.

The *Runner's World*/Starting Line Sports combination affects other products as well. A recent article by Kevin Nelson in *City Sports* focused on a controversy over special drinks for runners.

During a marathon, runners need to replace the fluids and minerals lost from sweating. The search for a suitable drink has produced advocates of plain water, de-fizzed Coca-Cola, and a number of more scientifically-devised drinks. One of the latter is known as ERG (for Electrolyte Replacement with Glucose), invented by chemist/marathoner Bill Gookin.

In 1972, according to Nelson, Bob Anderson's Starting Line Sports began to sell and distribute ERG and advertised the product in Anderson's *Runner's World*. In 1975 Gookin and Anderson had a disagreement as to who held sole distribution rights to ERG.

Is Brooks Shoes getting more for its advertising dollar than advertising?

World 5 Star Winners!

Grete Waitz sets New World Marathon Record for Women

Vantage & Vantage Supreme Models!

Now, compare the Runner's World 5 Star training shoes.

Note: The lower the number, the better the testing results for the shoe.

Shoe	Heel Impact	Forefoot Impact	Flexibility	Solewear	Cost
Brooks Vantage	1	2	3	4	5
Brooks Vantage Supreme	2	3	4	5	6
Brooks Vantage Supreme II	3	4	5	6	7
Brooks Vantage Supreme III	4	5	6	7	8
Brooks Vantage Supreme IV	5	6	7	8	9
Brooks Vantage Supreme V	6	7	8	9	10

This data has been compiled from the actual testing done in each testing category used in the 1979 *Runner's World* magazine's shoe survey.

Brooks

Shoe Mfg. Co., Inc., Andover, MA 01810

The dispute lasted until 1977, during which time *Runner's World* refused to carry advertisements for ERG. Starting Line Sports developed its own drink, called Body Punch. Body Punch is now advertised in *Runner's World* and distributed by Starting Line Sports. Ads for ERG still do not appear in *Runner's World*.

Not a crook.

Bob Anderson is understandably defensive about these charges. When I asked him about the relationship between *Runner's World* and Starting Line Sports, he openly acknowledged their connection, saying, "I'm an honest businessman." Anderson denied that there was any tie between the Brooks Shoe Company and either *Runner's World* or Starting Line Sports.

In the latest *Runner's World* shoe survey, Anderson obliquely responded to some of his critics in regard to where the highly-ranked shoes could be obtained. He said that *Runner's World* "cannot guarantee availability; availability is a matter that rests with the companies themselves." And this year, at least, it appears that Starting Line Sports does not have the inside track on five-star shoes.

Neil Rothenberg of Voisen's Tennis and Sports in Berkeley, Calif., has been one of the most vocal critics of the *Runner's World*/Starting Line Sports relationship. This year, he told *IN THESE TIMES*, the same charges have not been made.

But Rothenberg believes that the new rating system still has problems and contradictions. He cites the example of the Etonic Street Fighter, which received a four-star rating. *Runner's World* stated that the reason this shoe did not get a top rank was because of "some quality control problems." Rothenberg says that he has had fewer returns of this model than of the five-star rated Brooks Vantage, which he feels genuinely does lack quality control. In its own comments on the Brooks Vantage, which it also rated Number One in 1977, *Runner's World* mentioned that "quality control was a problem (last year) but the manufacturer says this has improved."

Although *Runner's World* may give Brooks shoes the benefit of the doubt, the magazine's attitude towards Tiger Shoes, made by the Onitsuka Company of Japan, seems to be especially nasty. Even though the Tiger Enduro was given a four-star rating—which according to *Runner's World's* own explanation of their rating system means "substantially above average" and "recommended"—in its comments *Runner's World* called the shoe "adequate" and "not a very good bargain." And *Runner's World* gave the Tiger Jayhawk, a racing flat, only a two-star ("below average") rating, calling it "very much over-rated." This was surprising, as in the previous year's *Runner's World* rankings the very same shoe came in third among all the racing shoes on the market. Who, then, had been doing the over-rating?

An explanation for *Runner's World's* biting criticisms of Tiger shoes cannot be found in the pages of the magazine. But Rothenberg told me that this year Tiger refused to submit their shoes to *Runner's World* for the purpose of ratings because they were angry over the treatment by the magazine in past shoe surveys. It was also apparent that Tiger—virtually alone among major running shoe manufacturers—was no longer advertising in the pages of *Runner's World*. It would seem, therefore, that behind-the-scenes bitterness played an important part in how *Runner's World* chose to rate and describe Tiger products.

Runner's World persists in calling itself "consumer advocates for better shoes" and takes credit for "forcing manufacturers to respond to the needs of runners." Yet when Anderson was asked about the differences between the way *Runner's World* rated shoes and the way *Consumer Reports* rated products (among other things, they forbid the use of their ratings by advertisers), he said that "we do the special shoe issue not for consumer protection, but for consumer information."

In our highly developed consumerist society, it would be foolish to expect that running would remain a pristine sport/exercise. But maybe we could have been spared friends like the "consumer advocates" of the *Runner's World* empire. ■

ART & ENTERTAINMENT

BOOKS

'Trash novels' reinforce despair

By Judith Kegan Gardiner

SEX, CLASS AND CULTURE

By Lillian S. Robinson
Indiana University Press, \$15

Recently a friend telephoned long distance to insist that I read *The Women's Room* because it was women's liberation for the women she knew. I did, uncomfortably. Was the book trying to "trash" women's liberation through parody and misdirection? Or was it putting on the conventions of the supermarket novel as a deliberate disguise?

Fortunately, I then read Lillian Robinson's exciting collection of critical essays about literature, the media, and mass culture from a socialist feminist perspective. Her range is broad, her style clear and engaging. And she asks the right questions, questions that help clarify our responses to both high literature and disposable "trash." The 12 essays—five theoretical and seven applied—were written from 1968 through 1977. Their insights are cumulative, sometimes self-correcting, reflecting both the author's politics and the changing conditions of the decade.

The first theoretical essay, "Dwelling in Decencies," establishes her fundamental principle as a socialist feminist critic: feminist critics must remember to analyze the effects of class as well as of gender. We must explain gender as socially determined and historically variable, not as a static natural category. The "best goals" of the women's liberation movement, she believes, are in opposition to the "defining institutions of class society," including its literature and its official literary standards.

In her earlier essays, Robinson focuses on how the reader's race, class, and gender shapes his or her responses to literature as to life. Her tone is also more urgent and peremptory than later. She tells us she was arrested and thrown out of graduate school for antiwar activities. She demands that we confront violence as a means to revolutionary change and that we "liberate" our sexuality. It was a time when

Marxist critics and teachers rightly felt a need to declare a stand on the barricades: "The revolution is simply not going to be made by literary journals."

The most recent theoretical essay—"Criticism—Who Needs It?"—is quieter in tone but the most radical in its critical approach. Traditionally, bourgeois critics analyze individual masterpieces of high culture while Marxist critics dismiss mass culture as capitalist brainwashing without paying any attention to its specific content. Robinson questions the connection of the mass culture of Buffalo, N.Y., centered in home and tavern, to the elite culture of museums, symphonies, and universities like the one at which she taught.

She argues that Marxist cultural criticism should focus on "the culture directed at the working class, the myths it creates about people, the situations and institutions in their lives, the world they live in. It would explore how those myths function in the media themselves and also in the popular consciousness." Since television is the dominant cultural form aimed at the working class, she believes it is the most important medium to explain now. Her essay on "television" concludes this volume, and her book about television is forthcoming.

Literature and history.

The seven essays of applied criticism demonstrate Robinson's brilliance in illuminating connections between literature and historical reality. The essay on "The Renaissance Lady" debunks the notion that a few female knights in Renaissance poems reflected a flowering of women's liberation in early modern Europe. Instead, she shows that the poets created these fictional heroines in order to introduce "feminine" and bourgeois values of balance and flexibility into their allegories about statecraft.

Her two other essays on elite literature—on Virginia Woolf and Jane Austen—champion these women writers for their acuity on matters of gender and class. Woolf understood the economic impotence of women. She advocated

wages for housework and a "People's University." Although her "solutions" are never collective, she identified "the enemy precisely as a Marxist would." It is perhaps even more surprising to find Robinson calling Jane Austen a "restrained but exact social revolutionary" for extolling bourgeois individual merit above static feudal inheritance. Robinson also commends Austen's precision in showing the effects of economic change on her character's lives. (A marvellously apt typographical error refers to Austen's masterpiece as "Price and Prejudice.")

In "On Reading Trash," Robinson contrasts Austen's economic realities with 20th century romances set in Austen's era, written by women for a popular female audience, and all additive but noxious fluff. They show women as powerless in history and existing only through their sexual roles. A favorite stereotype, for example, is the innocent heroine who magically captivates an experienced, masterful male.

Under their crinolines and pelisses, the heroines of these historical romances are very similar to the women characters on current television. "Television is the opposite of work," yet its "colonized leisure" prepares us to return to and accept our labor under capitalism. In comparison with real women, Robinson demonstrates, television women are disproportionately likely to be comfortable housewives or elite professionals. Few are factory workers or file clerks, and maids are unrealistically shown as white, comic, and idle. For them, "being a housewife is the normal lot of women," but "being one involves a set of human interactions, not a set of practical tasks." Only on the commercials is housework work, and then often a male expert tells the women how to perform their jobs.

"Working/Women/Writing" presents a dramatically different view of women's work than those shown in women's romances or on television. Robinson quotes extensively from a scrapbook written by women workers in the 1920s and '30s. The women de-



Lillian Robinson

Historical romance heroines are TV soap opera women in crinolines.

scribe their typical job experiences—the harassing boss or the forelady who imagines she is one of the employer's family.

Robinson argues that feminist critics should focus "on writing that encompasses and gives form to the experiences of the majority of women, writing that emphasizes the commonality over uniqueness, collectivity over idiosyncrasy, and the truths of history over those of fiction." Although she points out the ineffective writing in the working women's narratives, she upholds the narratives as models. "Literature...should help us learn about the way things are...by any means necessary," although this will mean a "radical redefinition of literature."

What then will be the new feminist aesthetic? Robinson answers, in part, that women's writing should be "honest" and "true" to women's experience. In "Keen Eye ... Watching" she reviews many volumes of contemporary women's poetry and finds "the emergence of a new consciousness" and certain special preoccupations—the female body, motherhood and childbirth, lesbianism, marriage, housewifery, the relations between women. She maintains that "the poetry of the

women's liberation movement is the richest and most vital current in American poetry today." But she thinks that only a few poems, like Susan Griffin's "I Like to Think of Harriet Tubman," can serve as "the music to which we march." Robinson faults many women poets for the individualism and "inwardness" that "distorts the movement's basic perception that 'the personal is political.'"

Sorting it out.

Robinson's categories help us sort out the genuine insights of a novel like *The Women's Room* from its limitations. French's book does ring true to many women's experiences. Like contemporary women poets, she reports our conditioned dissatisfactions with our bodies and with our heterosexual experience. She shows motherhood and the support of other women as central in our lives. She shows that, unlike TV soap operas, housework and childcare are grueling and demanding tasks, and that a job centered on "shit and string beans" affects a woman's mind.

But like the soap world, the one French writes about is filled with white middle class housewives who magically become Harvard graduate students. She omits most women's paid work. As in historical romances, she includes historical details from the past but her women live weak and segregated in the private sphere.

Both the power of *The Women's Room* and its danger come from its one-sidedness, from its incorrect identification of the enemy—men. It chronicles the massive oppression of women by men who ignore, frustrate, beat and rape them. Men are omnipotent and all bad; we do not see the system that shapes them. Women can join together for emotional support, even for briefly satisfying lesbian affairs, but not for collective action. French gratuitously metamorphoses her one articulate feminist into a loony terrorist and then machine guns her down.

Robinson's profound and persistent question is "cui bono"—"who profits"? We should be wary of buying the ideological products that capitalism wants us to consume—dashing romance heroes, neurotic soap opera women doctors, "modern man" floating lonely in the universe, and women's liberation packaged, as in *The Women's Room*, to induce in us a sense of our powerlessness and despair.

Judith Kegan Gardiner teaches English and women's studies at University of Illinois, Chicago Circle.

CULTURE SHOCK

THAT'S SHOW BIZ

Variety reports the latest false rumor in the entertainment business: that a new rock group has surfaced in Iran—called Shah-ro-no.

THAT'S REAL LIFE

Meanwhile, saboteurs reportedly programmed the Iranian Air Force computer in Tabriz to respond to all entries with "Yankee, go home."

STILL STAYIN' ALIVE

Saturday Night Fever is now the largest-selling foreign release in Southeast Asia, even though pirated versions—of which there are 14—probably "skim off" 70 percent of all its record sales.



Poets celebrate New Year at St. Mark's benefit

The annual St. Mark's poetry Project Benefit on New Year's Day in Manhattan has fostered three generations of poets, including Allen Ginsberg, Peter Orlovsky, Anne Waldman (left), Ted Berrian and Rochelle Kraut. This year it combined with a Save St. Mark's Campaign, since a fire last summer gutted the landmark church's interior and destroyed the roof. Dancers, jugglers and mimes joined this year's poets.

Robert Alexander



BLACK PANTHER, San Francisco Newsreel's first film (above), and COLUMBIA REVOLT (featured in the Whitney retrospective), were widely distributed and made Newsreel financially solvent.

DOCUMENTARIES

Newsreel captures recent past

By Eric Breitbart

The Whitney Museum of Art inaugurated the new year with a first-decade retrospective of political documentaries from Newsreel. As a working filmmaker, and as a one-time member of Newsreel (between 1968 and 1970), I was intensely curious. Even though some of my personal favorites are missing (*Mill-In*, *Gurbage*, *Army and Organize!*), the six programs of 24 films at the Whitney provide a fascinating picture of Newsreel's development and of the history its cameras caught.

As Jonas Mekas wrote in a *Movie Journal* column of 1968, quoted in the Whitney program notes, Newsreel's purpose was "to provide an alternative to the limited and biased coverage of television news." In 1967 and 1968, the Movement was ridiculed or ignored in the mass media, and we believed in the power of the truth to set things right. A statement in an early catalog read, "Over the years the mass media has consciously restricted the free flow of information to its audiences.... For it is this hidden information coupled with the reality of 'America' that will move people to revolution." Amazingly, the group was able to put over 60 films into distribution in less than two years.

This retrospective focuses on the energetic production of the first years, and follows a chronological progression. The films in the first program reflect the politics of an era when activists and students were "radicalized" by confrontations with police. A counter to the TV reporting, Newsreel films were consciously partisan reports from the inside, and this viewpoint energizes films like *No Game* and *Columbia Revolt* ten years after they were made.

The second program both recalls the Movement's roots in civil rights struggles (*Now!*) and enlarges its scope to include the liberation struggles in other countries. In 1969, Guinea-Bissau, the subject of *Nossa Terra*, was never mentioned, let alone seen, of the

6 o'clock news.

The third and fourth programs include the National Guard occupation of Wilmington, Del., and the DuPont family's control of the state (*Wilmington*); the mobilization of the Vietnamese, filmed by Newsreel in what was then North Vietnam (*People's War*); the League of Revolutionary Black Workers in Detroit (*Finally Got the News*); and one of the first women's liberation films (*The Women's Film*).

The fifth program brings us into the early '70s with the return of Vietnam veterans (*Only the Beginning*), the growth of the Puerto Rican struggle (*Young Lords*). The sixth brings us up to date with three recent films: *Fresh Seeds in the Big Apple*, about community controlled day care; women in prison (*Inside Women Inside*), and *From Spikes to Spindles: A History of the Chinese in New York*.

Changes in focus.

Day by day in the showings, you could see a change in focus, from Newsreel's global concerns of the late '60s to subjects anchored in black and Latin communities in New York City. In fact the first program does not represent early films quite accurately, since many were oriented toward draft resistance and antiwar activities. But the use of Third World struggles as a model was always there.

The constituency of the late '60s Newsreel was that loose coalition of antiwar, anti-imperialist groups called the Movement, and when the Vietnam war ended, the confrontational "turn-on" films and antiwar organizing material lost their utility. But people in Newsreel had always maintained contact with community groups in New York City, providing films, speakers, projectors, and training in film skills. What began as the Third World Caucus in Newsreel eventually took over the organization. Newsreel has continued to develop and expand community use of its films. For these communities, the war didn't have to come home. It was always there.

On the tenth anniversary of the

organization, Third World Newsreel members approached John Hanhart of the Whitney with a proposal for a retrospective. Hanhart, long interested in Newsreel, broke Whitney's programming tradition with the six-night series.

Hanhart explained to *IN THESE TIMES* why the Whitney sponsored the retrospective: "I'm always interested in the idea of film playing an agitprop role. Newsreel has always been strong and interesting in the use they want to put film to, and also for the whole nature of their organization, especially the collective process in the early years."

"The goals of the organization have changed since the mid-'60s and I think that's interesting too—to look at films like *Wilmington* and *Columbia Revolt* today and see what they were attempting then."

Surprising respect.

To a participant in the hectic early days, audiences in the Whitney's crowded auditorium seemed cool, surprisingly quiet and respectful. Perhaps their reaction reflected historical distance; most of the audience was in its early teens when the films were made. But interest was there. At almost every show people were turned away from full houses.

The Whitney show gives a kind of official recognition to Newsreel. It does not signal an end to the organization. Third World Newsreel continues to grow. In New York City the organization offers a cinematography workshop with practical experience. A "traveling theater" program sends independent political films to theaters on both coasts where political films are rarely scheduled. In distribution Third World Newsreel looks toward better outreach to the South and the Midwest.

And filmmaking goes on. Current Newsreel projects include a film about black family structure; about the effects of automation on workers; and about a New York community that bucked city hall and kept its neighborhood firehouse open.

Eric Breitbart currently works for the Film Forum in New York.

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POEMS FROM THE CHILEAN RESISTANCE

By Ariel Dorfman

The Other Companeros in the Cell Are Now Asleep

You enter the only room
of the house
and do not turn the light on
in order not to awaken
the children.

You undress in the dark
and extend your hand under the blanket
until you feel the warm sleeping body
of the youngest girl,
the one I do not know
the one who was born afterwards.
You remain like that, naked,
without getting into the bed,
with eyes open
almost touching the breathing
of our children.

Tomorrow you will have to go to court
and they will tell you no
tomorrow you will have to go look for work
tomorrow you will have to ask for credit
and always no and no
return tomorrow,
but quietly now, we're not going to cry
—don't be afraid
you can do it everyone is asleep—
because the darkness is full
of children.

Identity

what's that you say, they've found another?
and in the river, I can't hear you, this morning you say,
floating another one?
speak up, so you didn't dare,
he is so irrecognizable?
so the police have said that not even his mother could
that not even the mother who spawned him
that not even she could,
that's what they said?
so the other women have already examined him, I can't hear you well,
so they turned him over and saw the face, the hands they saw,
that,
so they're all waiting together and silent
all in mourning
by the banks of the river,
so they took him out of the water
so he's without a stitch of clothing
like the day he was born,
so there's a police captain there,
so they won't move until I get there?
that he doesn't belong to anybody?
is that what you're saying, that he belongs to nobody?
tell them that I'm getting dressed,
that I'm on my way.
if the captain is the same one as the
other time
he already knows what is going to happen,
so they can give him my name
that of my son my husband my father
tell them the papers tell them
tell them I'm almost there, to wait for me
and that that captain shouldn't touch him.
that he should not come even one step nearer
that captain.
Tell them not to worry
I bury my own dead.

Two Plus Two

We all know how many steps there are,
companion, from the cell
to that room.

If there are twenty,
they are no longer taking you to the bathroom.
If there are fortyfive,
they can no longer take you
to exercise.

If you go over eighty,
and you begin climbing
tumbling and blind
a stair,
oh if you are over eighty steps
there is no other place
where they can take you,
there is no other place
there is no other place
there is no longer another place.

Hope

for Edgardo Enriquez, father
for Edgardo Enriquez, son

My son has been missing
since May 8th
last year.

They came to get him
only for a few hours,
they said,
only to ask him
some routine questions.

Ever since the car left
that car without plates
we have been unable

to find out

anything else
about him.

Now things have changed.
We have learned from a young companero
whom they just freed
that five months afterwards
they were torturing him
in Villa Grimaldi,
that by the end of September
they were interrogating him
in the red house
which once belonged to the Grimaldi's.

They say they recognized him
by the voice, by the screams,
they said.

I want you to answer me frankly.

What times are these,
what century are we in,
what is the name
of this country?

How could it be,
that's what I'm asking,
that the joy of a father,
that the happiness of a
mother,

consists in knowing
that their son
is being

is being tortured?
And to presume therefore
that he was still alive
five months afterwards,
that our highest hope
consists

in finding
next year
that eight months later
they continued the torture
and he is, he might, he could
still be alive.

Ariel Dorfman, co-author of *How to Read Donald Duck*, is a Chilean political exile and presently teaches at the University of Amsterdam. Deena Metzger and Luis Galvez translated these poems.

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MUSIC



Fania All-Stars members learned musicianship in their families; now they find non-Latin musicians imitating them.

Salsa stayin' alive with disco sound

By Howard Mandel

The Fania All Stars, salsa's most ambitious orchestra, celebrated their tenth anniversary in July of 1978 traditionally—by selling out Madison Square Garden and playing their contemporary big band Latin music, flavored by improvisation and age-old rhythms, without a trace of fusion.

"The whole world is going salsa!" exulted emcee Izzy Sanabria, publisher of *Latin New York* magazine and unabashed promoter of Latino soul music.

Striding into the spotlight to the roar of the well-primed crowd were the instrumentalists, all band leaders or favorite sidemen, who season the hot dance music that was thought to be breaking big in the '70s—bigger than the boogaloo in the '60s, bigger than the mambo in the '50s. Waiting in the wings were the smoothest, most passionate New York singers who vocalize in Spanish, including Pete "El Conde" Rodriguez, Adalberto Santiago, Santos Colon, Ishmael Miranda, Cheo Feliciano, Hector Lavoe, Ruben Blades, and the Queen of Salsa, Celia Cruz.

"Now the man who keeps them all jumping—" Sanabria cried, "the big gun of Fania Records—Johnny Pacheco!!!" Out sprinted an angular figure in a form-fitting powder blue suit with white piping and fringe, waving to his audience then counting off a clave, the typical five beat folkloric rhythm accented on the second or third stroke that underlies all Latin American music.

Young Papo Lucca's piano picked up the pattern over timbalist Nicky Marrero, congaist Johnny Rodriguez, and bongoist Roberto Roena. Sal Queras was there on standup electric bass. The trombones of Louis Kahn and Reinaldo Jorge harmonized with the three trumpets led by Louis "Perico" Ortiz—bass trumpet soloist Willie Colon awaited his special introduction. Multi-talented Pupi Legretta playing violin, sturdy tres player Yomo Toro, and vivist-arranger Louis Ramir-

ez added to the texture.

Schedules of their own working band disrupted, the headliners who wax for Fania Records again collaborated to form a powerhouse band, putting on a fabulous show. Pacheco, the Santo Domingan-born composer, conductor, flutist, and vice president of Fania, America's most active salsa label, stoked the band as though shoveling coals into a furnace—and in a moment no one listening was able to sit still.

Though caught between rows of folding chairs and theater seats, an audience composed of all ages and all races was trying to dance. If the Fania All-Stars' goal was only to stimulate movement, they succeeded long ago, because the polyrhythms and overlapping melodic themes of their Latin American, Afro-Cuban music demand the adjective "infectious."

But Johnny Pacheco, Jerry Masucci, the rest of the All-Stars and a widespread family of friends and business relations have had grander hopes for this aggregation. The band performs only a few times a year in already assured markets, and records at most twice every 12 months, so members can front their own creative projects. Yet the idea behind the All-Stars is that they sell the entire label, all the band, singers, and salsa music itself.

Salsa in the mainstream.

So Pacheco and Masucci aspire to a boundary-breaking crossover hit in the pop, R&B, or disco vein that will, they posit, lead to acceptance of Latin-rooted Spanish-language music in the mainstream music market.

"You get a top ten album in the pop market and I guess that's what everyone is talking about, that's where it's all supposed to lead," says Masucci, who handles the business aspects of Fania Records while Pacheco oversees artistic considerations. In pursuit of that elusive breakthrough, Fania Records and the ever-changing band bearing its name signed a three-year agreement with Columbia Records to co-produce an album a year, starting in 1976.

Now, since Columbia has chosen not to renew the co-production agreement, Fania's search for cross-over depends on its own resources.

In 1976 the Fania All-Stars made two albums, *Delicate and Jumpy* for Columbia with production help from Gene Page, and *A Tribute to Tito Rodriguez* for Fania, an in-house labor of love involving Masucci, Pacheco, Ramirez and pianist-composer-arranger-bandleader Larry Harlow.

Live at the Red Garter, the first Fania recording of the All-Stars (issued in 1972), had crossover offerings: a duet version in English of Marvin Gaye's ballad *If This World Was Mine*, and a Memphis Horns-inspired *Strut*. But most of *Red Garter* (there are two volumes), which features, besides Pacheco, Colon and Harlow, the popular leaders Ray Barretto, Joe Bataan, Tito Puente and Eddie Palmieri, is a rough Latin jazz jam, with piercing trumpet breaks, several percussion solos, cliché-crushing pianistics, and discursive, improvised vocalizing over a simple phrase repeated by an impromptu chorus. There is the marvelous, funky feeling of music created in the heat of life.

By comparison, their latest, *Spanish Fever*, opens with the title track: an "Ole" and some standard flamenco guitar licks by guest Maynard Ferguson's trumpet break ending predictably on a squeezed high note, and a femme chorus mixed out front repeating the two key words of the title. All the potential of the recording studio supplants any spontaneity—and where are the Fania All-Stars? Side one continues this way.

Flip it over to hear some salsa: Pacheco's *Coro Miyare* opens with a pagan chant over an Afro-Cuban conga beat. Papo Lucca maintains perfect counterpoint syncopation with the chorus; an interesting trumpet line is developed by the section over a complex, clean and fast rhythm; a whistle intrudes irregularly, an amazing ascending orchestral motif turns the tune around, and

there's a cutting, uncredited trumpet solo, probably by "Perico" Ortiz.

Tradition and influence.

Pacheco is aware that his music is filtering through other musicians and becoming influential. "There are lots of [non-Latin] guys who come to see the band just to watch. Then you see them when we get off the bandstand, they get on the conga and imitate what they've seen. There are some guys around who have all the records, and they try to learn Latin percussion by playing along with the records. Some of these guys who can play are working with Latin bands."

Pacheco and most of the other Fania musicians learned their music directly from their predecessors.

"I started playing when I came to the States; I was 11," Pacheco relates. "I picked up the music from records and from musicians around me, especially in my family. My father was a musician, a wind man, he played alto sax and woodwinds, and my uncle was a trumpet player, who started one of the first bands in Santo Domingo, called Santa Cecilia."

"A lot of our music is traditional. When we get the rhythm thing together, the only thing we put down is the rhythmic base, then we let the rhythm players do their own thing. Of course, there's a new generation of arrangers coming up, guys who have grown up listening to jazz, to rock, and the change is incredible. So far, it's better—they write ninth chords and use different licks, and sometimes we blend in island things, like the *meringe* from Santo Domingo, the *bomba* from Puerto Rico; we might even add Mexican licks. So we have changed the sound, and that's why everybody digs it—because they can identify with some part of it."

The sound of a music rooted in a folk culture generally evolves slowly, through the culture's absorption of individual variations, like Marrero's expanded timbales kit. Musicians such as Pacheco, a

synthesizer with roots deep in tradition but with an ear for the future may be catalysts of development. But marketplace pressure is speeding change at Fania.

"The music has become much hipper," claims Masucci, who shares a composer credit on *Juan Pachanga* from the *Rhythm Machine* album. "More musical, more intricate, heavier arrangements. New experiments, you know? Actually, that's what the All-Stars albums on Columbia have been; on each album we try to experiment with mixing different sounds and we also keep a few tunes with our basic roots. Everything is about trying to keep roots and branch out at the same time. And every album we've put out on Columbia has doubled sales from the previous one."

Has salsa's popularity peaked, or is it still growing? Columbia did cancel Fania's contract, but has recently been promoting Eddie Palmieri's crossover album, *Lucumi, Macumba, Voodoo*.

Interviewed before Columbia's cancellation, Masucci remained confident. "Let me tell you this," he said, "what didn't happen, we haven't had any pop hits. Everyone's looking for it. But as far as growth, as far as sales, and as far as personal appearances goes, it just keeps getting bigger and bigger. This year we sold out the Garden again. The music is sweeping across South America and even creeping into Mexico, which is very nationalistic. So it's growing one way or another."

The key phrase there is the last one. In an attempt to follow up the crossover marketing that Columbia generated, Fania has hired Salsoul Orchestra director Vince Montana to co-produce, with Jerry Massucci, the next Fania record. It will include "some very heavy Latin disco hits," said Jose Florez, spokesman for Fania. The future of the traditional elements in this music remains to be seen.

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NASA engineers develop satellite technology for Lockheed and other private corporations.

A hundred companies lobby NASA for special projects.

tal on Stereosat.

The answer, in the words of one NASA employee, is simple: "Why should the companies fund the project when they can get the government to pay the bill? You don't seriously think they are going to pay for something when they can get it free?"

The government designs and pays for space projects, and then releases the benefits of its efforts for private use without exacting a penny for the cost of research and development. The past three presidential administrations have made much of their attempts to get welfare recipients off the dole, while the same people who brought you napalm are lining up for a free slice of the outer space pie.

Cash benefits.

The benefits to be realized from the Stereosat program remain in the tantalizing future, but several major corporations have already begun to reap the advantages of the already operational parent project. Only in the past year has the data beamed back from the Landsat orbiter been available for commercial use. GE, Bendix, IBM, and most recently, Lockheed Electronics have moved decisively to take advantage of the new field of remote sensing applications.

Lockheed's facility is located across from the Johnson Space Center in Houston. With about 400 employees working on the new operation, Lockheed expects to net profits in the million-dollar range initially, with a projected annual increase in sales of 50 to 100 percent.

How will Lockheed reap this bonanza? Using a PDP-1170 computer, Lockheed will analyze Landsat images for a fee. NASA will supply the raw data at virtually no cost and Lockheed's staff, trained in both digital and conventional photo interpretation, will apply the data to the needs of the company's customers.

For instance, Lockheed expects to win contracts from the petrochemical companies in search of new oil fields. By a Landsat survey of the vegetation, Lockheed will be able to discern underlying geologic structures most likely to harbor "black gold."

As well, agricultural and food processing concerns will be bargaining for crop yield predictions. The resolution of the Landsat images is so fine that computer analysis can provide long-range weather predictions, estimates of total acreage of a given crop in a particular area, and an indication of the health of the crop.

Other customers?

Lockheed and its competitors also expect to sell their services to the government. Federal, state, and local agencies will find uses for the information from the Landsat program. With constant shifts of population and activity within most urban areas, city governments will need updated maps for planning.

Water politics in the Southwest will use Landsat information. The development of Landsat has created new terms for negotiating agreements in the ongoing struggle over water rights among the growing Sunbelt population. The U.S. Bureau of Land Management and the Forest Service will also find their planning capabilities increased by easy access to data for their multi-million-acre jurisdictions.

In an informal conversation, one NASA employee stated, "There is no doubt that the government has the capability to do as effective a job as the private firms. The principal obstacle to our marketing the data and returning the profits to finance the space program is the lobbying clout these people have in Washington."

Corporate lobbyists argue in response that government operations are wasteful. They say such ventures into the marketplace are better left to private business. The implication is clear: "Leave the profits to us."

Free Ride in the Sky

By Michael Curtin

THEY CALL IT STEREOSAT. NO, you cannot take it home, turn it up, and hunker down in front of it with a can of Old Milwaukee. It is the project name for a new satellite in the federal government's Landsat program. The Landsat program does geologic mapping, and its new satellite has been anxiously awaited by the petroleum and mineral industries. Stereosat is designed to beam back stereographic images of the earth's surface. Previous satellite mapping ventures that grew out of the Landsat program provided two-dimensional images of the earth's surface. Stereosat will add a third dimension, thus aiding the corporate search for mineral deposits, with no R&D costs to industry.

The investment of time, technology and labor for mineral prospecting is extensive, not to mention the risk that the venture will turn up empty-handed. Stereosat promises to save the petrochemical and mineral industries millions of dollars. It is another of the U.S. government's char-

itable donations to private enterprise.

Last year a geologic map of Minnesota was commissioned at a project cost of \$118 per square mile, using conventional earth-bound procedures. Using image data beamed back by another Landsat orbiter, the map was completed at a final cost of 65¢ per square mile.

Stereosat data would increase the sophistication of geologic mapping by giving a three-dimensional picture of the layering of the earth's crust. The result, when added to Landsat images of surface formations, would be a fairly complete picture of geologic areas expected to harbor exploitable mineral resources.

Space lobby.

Jimmy Carter's no-growth NASA budget has frustrated the industry's attempts to slip the Stereosat project into the operating budget of the space program. However, a rebuff from NASA last year did not stifle the corporations. Undaunted, slightly over 100 petroleum and mineral companies banded together to form the Geosat Committee. The purpose of the committee, according to Dr. Alex Goetz,

a technical adviser to the program, is to "generate an exchange of information between NASA and private industry."

Formed as a nonprofit corporation in the fall of 1976, Geosat is the "first user group outside NASA to be formed to lobby for particular system projects," says Goetz.

The price tag on the Stereosat project? The Geosat Committee, now attempting to lobby a separate funding measure through Congress, sets a figure of something in the area of \$50 million.

But inside sources indicate that, like all past aerospace projects, that figure can be doubled to compute the final cost in tax dollars.

Why should the taxpayer foot the bill for a satellite project designed to benefit private industry? With a consortium of 100 of the largest mining and petroleum companies in the world banded together behind a \$100 million project, the companies ought to be able to come up with the funding among themselves. If the benefits of the project are anything on the scale of the Minnesota mapping project, industry should be eager to venture capi-